



SUFISM IN KASHMĪR
FROM
THE FOURTEENTH TO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY



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SUFISM IN KASHMĪR
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To My Teacher,
Dr. S.A.A. Rizvi,
In abiding friendship and gratitude.

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PREFACE

The histories of Medieval Kashmīr, like those of many other parts of the subcontinent, mainly deal with courts and political developments. No attempt has yet been made to give a connected account of religious developments and the ideological tensions in the Valley. The accounts of the introduction of Islam and Sufism into Kashmīr are shrouded in myth and legend. Modern scholars, who deal primarily with political history of Kashmīr, make occasional references to its saints, but their accounts are uncritical and generally based upon the later hagiological material.

The present work which is based on my doctoral dissertation, seeks to unravel the tangled skein of legends concerning the Ṣūfīs of Kashmīr and to present a connected study of the Ṣūfī orders from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century. Both the Ṣūfī orders introduced by the Irānīan immigrants and the eclectic Rishī order which emerged locally have for the first time been examined and analysed in detail.

In the present work an attempt has been made to make a fairly extensive and critical use of all sources available. In using contemporary works, due allowance has been made for the attitudes and personal prejudices of the authors, while with later works an attempt has been made to remove that coating which legend and superstition have woven around the real figures of the Ṣūfī saints.

Throughout the work we have attempted to justify by reasonable argument our reliance on a particular source, wherever there has been a conflict of evidence or a contradiction.

The important legends have been summarised with a view to showing the gullibility of the hagiologists and the character of material that is available. Comparisons have been given, wherever available, from non-Kashmīrī sources, in order to show how the same types of legend and tradition flourished in other parts of the Muslim world.

In Appendix D we have given seven tables setting out the life and activities of the leading Ṣūfīs of Kashmīr as described in the various sources, in order to provide at a glance a view of all the traditions and the nature of their continuity, from whatever source.

The term 'saint', in this study, is used in a general sense to refer to the Ṣūfīs and the Hindu ascetics called *Sant* and *Sidh*. We realise that in the Christian context a corrupt saint is a contradiction in terms, but this usage has long been common in the subcontinent, and we retain it for the sake of convenience. Except where otherwise indicated all dates are A.D. In the translation of Kashmīrī verses and prose passages, the emphasis has been on producing an accurate translation into English rather than fluency of style.

Before concluding I wish to acknowledge my thanks to The Australian National University for granting me a research scholarship and other necessary facilities. I owe a particular debt of gratitude to my teacher, Dr. S.A.A. Rizvi, and I take this opportunity of acknowledging it with the warmest thanks. Professor A.L. Basham has placed me under a heavy debt of obligation for the keen interest he has shown in my work despite his other heavy responsibilities. He has also been very kind to oblige me in writing a foreword to this work. For assistance and encouragement I would also like to thank Professor Saiyid Husain Naṣr, Vice Chancellor, University of Tehrān, Dr. G.S. Chhabra, Mr. Z.L. Jalla, Department of History, Universities of Jammu, and Kashmir, respectively, Dr. M.Y. Qadri of the Department of Zoology, University of Kashmir, Mr. M.A. Rafiqi of the Oriental Research Department, Srinagar, Miss Mary Hutchinson of the Department of Asian Civilizations, The Australian National University,

Dr. D.J. Prentice, Department of Indonesian, to my friend Dr. M.A.B.H. Walter, of the Department of Sociology, University of Singapore, and to my former fellow research students Messrs J.N. Tiwari and V.J.A. Flynn.

My thanks are also due to the officials of Menzies Library The Australian National University, particularly those of the Asian Studies and reference sections. I am obliged to Professor O.H.K. Spate, formerly Director, Research School of Pacific Studies and Mr. H.E. Gunther of the Department of Human Geography, The Australian National University who helped me to draw the map of Kashmir. Finally I would like to thank my wife Shafiqah for her sympathy and patience.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A.A.	Abū'l-Faẓl, Ā'in-i-Akbarī
A.N.	— — Akbar-Nāmā
A.Ab.	Dāwud Mishkāṭī, Asrāru'l-Abrār
B.S.	Anonymous, Bahāristān-i-Shāhī
C.A.	Ishāq Qādirī, Chillatu'l-Ārifīn
D.S.	Dāwud Kḥākī, Dastūru's-Sālikīn
F.Q.	Muḥammad Ḥusain Qādirī, Futūḥāt-i-Qādirī
F.K.	'Abdu'l-Wahhāb, Futūḥāt-i-Kubraviya
G.A.	Muḥammad Aslam, Gauhar-i-Ālam
H.M.	Ḥaidar Tulmūlī, Hidāyatu'l-Mukhlīṣīn
Iḥya.	Ghazālī, Iḥya' 'Ulūm al-Dīn
K.H.	Sayid 'Alī Hamadānī, Kashfu'l-Ḥaqā'iq
K.M.	Ja'far Badakhshī, Kḥulāṣatu'l-Manāqib
Kashf.	Hujwērī, Kashfu'l-Maḥjūb
K.S.	Mullā Aḥmad bin Ṣabūr, Kḥawāriqu's-Sālikīn
K.Sa.	Ghazālī, Kimiyā'-i-Sa'adat
M.Sc.	Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī, Untitled Treatise
N.A.	Rafī'u'd-Dīn Aḥmad, Nawādiru'l-Akḥbār
N.U.	'Abdu'l-Raḥmān Jāmī, Nafāḥatu'l-Uns
R.D.Q.	Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī, Risāla-i-Dah Qā'ida
R.Dr.	Risāla-i-Darweshiya
R.F.	Risāla-i-Futūḥiya
R.I.	Risāla-i-I'tiqādiya
R.M.	Risāla-i-Maktūbāt
R.M.Az.	Risāla-i-Mashāribu'l-Azwāq
R.N.	Bābā Nasīb, Rishī-Nāmā
R.Nm.	Bahāu'd-Dīn Mattū, Rish-i-Nāmā
R.S.M.	Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī, Risāla-i-Sharḥ-i-Mushkil- ḥal
R.Tj.	Jonarāja, Rājataranḡinī
R.Tk.	Kalhaṇa, Rājataranḡinī
R.Ts.	Shrīvara, Rājataranḡinī

R.Z.	Saiyid 'Alī Hamādānī, Risāla-i-Ẓikriya
Sultāns	Muḥibbu'l-Ḥasan, Kashmīr under the Sultāns
T.A.	Nizāmu'd-Dīn Aḥmad, Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī
T.Az.	Muḥammad A'zam, Tārīkh-i-A'zamī
T.H.	Pīr Ḥasan, Tārīkh-i-Ḥasan
T.K.	Muḥīu'd-Dīn Miskīn, Tārīkh-i-Kabīr
T.Ka.	Nārāyan Kaul 'Ājiz, Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr
T.Kh.	Hasan bin 'Alī, Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr
T.Kk.	Birbal Kachrū, Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr
T.Km.	Ḥaidar Malik, Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr
T.Ks.	Saiyid 'Alī, Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr
Z.M.	Saiyid 'Alī Hamādānī, Ẓakhīratu'l-Mulūk

TRANSLITERATION

We have followed Steingass's *Persian and English Dictionary*, except for the following changes and additions. The term 'Sūfism' has been accepted as an English term and is used without diacritical marks.

Changes

<i>Steingass</i>	<i>Text</i>
Feroze	Ferūz
Khānaqāh	Khanqāh
Nauroze	Naurūz
Siddiq	Sidīq

Additions

Ṭ	ट
Kh	ख
Ḍ	ड
ñ	ड
ṇ	ण
ṃ	ॠ

Sanskrit *anusvāra*

(I) INTRODUCTION

Review of sources and a brief survey of previous scholarship in the field

Delivering the Sir 'Abdu'l-lāh Suhrawardī Lecture for 1942, Professor A. J. Arberry observed :

It would seem that there are few subjects on which so little has been written, in comparison with the wealth of sources available. Hand in hand with the purely literary work will go considerable archaeological research into the history of the shrines of the Muslim saints. Numerous outstanding personalities deserve separate treatment on the most generous and painstaking scale : for instance, Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i Shakar, Nizām al-Dīn Auliya, Naṣīr al-Dīn Chirāgh, Bahā al-Dīn Multānī, Aḥmad-i Yahya Munyarī, and Muḥammad Gīsūdarāz. Naturally, also each of the main Sūī orders could be made the subject of a monograph.¹

Since 1942 some important monographs on Indian Ṣūfīs have been written; the unpublished history of the Chishtī and Suhrawardī orders by Professor Nuru'l Hasan, approved for the degree of doctor of Philosophy of Oxford University in 1948, is a pioneer work on the subject. Professor Muḥammad Ḥabīb's papers on Shaikh Naṣīru'd-Dīn Chirāgh Dihlawī, published in *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad, and his critical analysis of the spurious Chishtī mystic "Records of the Sultante Period", published in *Medieval India Quarterly*, Aligarh, is a useful guide to scholars working in the field.

Many works on Indian Ṣūfīs and religious movements have recently been published but no connected work on the history of Sufism in Kashmīr has, however, been written by any scholar. The contributions of some of the Ṣūfīs and holy

1. *An Introduction to the History of Sufism*, p. 66,

men of Kashmir have been discussed incidentally by a number of scholars who have written about political history of Kashmir. None of these historians has cared to take a comprehensive view of the subject. Their accounts of Mīr Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī and Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn Rishī are based on pious legends.

Of the historical works which refer to the Ṣūfis, the following are noteworthy.

1. *The Valley of Kashmir* by Lawrence, published in 1895, is a general history of Kashmir. Its Chapter XI (pp. 284-301) gives a general description of the various religious systems of Kashmir. In describing the religious practices and beliefs of the Muslims of his time, Lawrence briefly refers to Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī, Shaikh Nūrud'd-Dīn Rishī and some other saints of Kashmir.¹

The author uncritically accepts legends, such as Saiyid 'Alī's confrontation with Tīmūr leading to his migration to Kashmir.

2. *Kashīr*, by Dr. G.M.D. Sufi, is a history of Kashmir from ancient times to the present day, in two volumes, published in 1949. In Chapter III "The Spread of Islam in Kashmir", Ṣufi seems to be more interested in glorifying the contributions of Ṣūfis to the history of Kashmir than in presenting an accurate historical account.²

Secondly, his account is generally based on later works such as *Tārīkh-i-Azamī* and *Tārīkh-i-Kabīr*; in certain cases modern Kashmirī writers such as Muḥammadu'd-Dīn Fauq (d. 1945) are accepted as independent authorities.³

His defence of Sultān Sikandar's iconoclastic activities is apologetic.⁴ In many places his narrative is weighed down with material of doubtful relevance.⁵

1. Cf. *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 292.

2. Cf. p. 81ff.

3. Cf. *Kashīr*, I, pp. 169, 162; II, pp. 608, 729.

4. Cf. *Ibid.*, I, p. 148ff. See also *infra*, p. 100. n. 6.

5. Cf. *Kashīr*, I, pp. 96, 98, 99 and II, p. 608.

However, the work is important, as in the beginning it contains valuable and detailed information about the manuscript copies of medieval Kashmīrī literature in the various libraries of the world.

3. *Kashmīr under the Sultāns*, by Muḥibbu'l-Ḥasan, published in 1959, is a history of the Sultāns of Kashmīr. His account of Saiyid 'Alī's life and activities is generally based on A.A. Ḥikmat's article "Les voyages d'un Mystique person de Hamadān au Kashmīr,"¹ whose main source was in turn Sufi's *Kashīr*. Like Dr. Sufi,² Muḥibbu'l-Ḥasan, too, has been carried away by legends.

For example, Muḥibbu'l-Ḥasan seems to uncritically accept the story that Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī visited Kashmīr three times,³ and that the Saiyid's main reason for migration from Hamadān to Kashmīr was some alleged dispute between him and Timūr.⁴

Muḥibbu'l-Ḥasan does not investigate the causes of the differences between Saiyid Ḥiṣārī and Mīr Muḥammad Hamadānī, and does not analyse their impact on Sultān Sikandar's later policy. He mentions these important incidents only in passing.⁵

Many statements of Muḥibbu'l-Ḥasan are irreconcilable. For example, in one place (p. 224) he states "Unlike Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī and Shamsu'd-Dīn, he [Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn] preferred a life of retirement, and was accustomed to withdraw to caves for meditation and prayer". But elsewhere (p. 235), while describing the missionary activities of Saiyid 'Alī, he observes: "His work was continued by his disciples and his son Muḥammad Hamadānī, and by Nūru'd-Dīn Rishī and his disciples".

4. *History of Muslim rule in Kashmīr*, by Dr. R.K. Parmu, is substantially his thesis approved for the doctorate degree

1. *Journal Asiatique*, CCXL, 1952.

2. Cf. *Kashīr*, I, pp. 86-87.

3. *Sultans*, pp. 55-56. See also *infra*, p. 35.

4. *Sultans*, p. 56. See also *infra*, p. 33.

5. Cf. *Sultans*, p. 63.

by Allahabad University in 1948, but not published until 1969. Dr. Parmu has made very serious mistakes in his account of the Šūfis he describes. For example, he claims that Saiyid 'Alī was influenced by the founder of the Naqashbandī order and later became the leader of that order (p. 102). No authority is quoted for this statement. But obviously it has been borrowed, without acknowledgment, from *The Word of Lalla*,¹ by R.C. Temple, who himself was not adequately acquainted with the Šūfī literature.

Similarly, while he uncritically accepts Jonarāja's statement regarding Rinchana being refused initiation into Hinduism,² Parmu accepts Rinchana's conversion to Islam on the authority of a legend: "By sheer accident or manipulation, it so happened that Rinchana's eyes fell on Bulbul Shah, a Mulim Fakir, so he became a Muslim and adopted the name Sultan Sadruddin".³

The alleged missionary activities of Saiyid 'Alī are grossly exaggerated in this work.⁴

Parmu reproduces, with an English translation, an interesting document held in the *Khārqaḥ-i-Mu'allā*, Saiyid 'Alī's shrine at Srinagar, entitled *Waqf-Nāmā*,⁵ which throws light on the working of a Kashmirī *khānqāh* in the fourteenth century. The document seems to have been borrowed from the *Futuhāt-i-Kubraviya*,⁶ and its authenticity still remains to be established.

In recent years, several European scholars such as Meier, Mole and Teufel, have discussed Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī in articles and monographs. Their works introduce some important treatises by the Saiyid to French and German readers for the first time. They throw some light on Saiyid 'Alī's activities before coming to Kashmir, but make no

1. P. 2. See also *infra*, p. 237.

2. *History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, p. 79.

3. *Ibid.*

4. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 101-106.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 467-475.

6. Ff. 63b-64b.

additions to the existing knowledge of the Saiyid's career in Kashmir.

Fritz Meier, for example, in his article "Die Welt der Urbilder bei Ali Hamadānī",¹ gives only a brief account of Saiyid 'Alī's life, and makes a casual reference to his visit to Kashmir. The author mainly concentrates on the translation of *Risāla-i-Manāmiya*, a treatise by the Saiyid on the interpretation of dreams. The author does not mention any other treatises by Saiyid 'Alī, except the *Zakhīratu'l-Muluk*, which he describes as the Saiyid's principal work.²

M. Mole has written the following four articles :

1. La version persane du Traite des dix principes de Najm al-Din Kobra, par 'Ali b. Shihab al-Din Hamadani.
Farhang-i Irān-Zamīn, VI, Tehran 1337, sh., pp. 38-66.
2. Kubrawiyat II : 'Ali b. Sihabeddin-i Hamdani nin Risala-i futuvvatiyya'si.
Sarkiyat Mecmuasi, IV, Istanbul 1961, pp. 33-72.
3. Professions de foi de deux Kubrawis: 'Ali-i Hamdani et Muhammad Nurbakhsh.
Bulletin d'etudes Orientales XVII, Damas. 1962, pp. 133-204.
4. Les Kubrawiya entre Sunnisme et Shiisme aux huitieme et neuvieme siecles l'hegire.

Revue des Etudes Islamiques XXIX, Paris 1961, pp. 610-42.

In the article in the *Farhang-i Irān-Zamīn*, Mole has edited the *Risāla-i-Dah Qa'ida* of Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī. He has utilized only manuscripts available in Irān and has ignored copies in Indian libraries. Mole states that the treatise is the Persian translation of an Arabic work by Najamu'd-Dīn Kubrā.³

The author makes a brief reference to Saiyid 'Alī's visit

1. *Eranos-Jahrbuch*, XVIII, 1950,

2. *Ibid.*, p. 141.

3. Meier also contributes to this view (*Der Islam*, XXIV, 1937, p. 15ff.), See *infra*, p. 231 about the authorship of the treatise.

to Kashmir. Without quoting any authority, Mole states that the Saiyid took refuge in Kashmir because of persecution by Tīmūr.¹

The second article, in the *Sarkiyat-i-Mecmuasi*, reproduces the *Risāla-i-Futuḥiyya* (*Futuwwatiyya'si*). Like his edition of the *Risāla-i-Dah Qa'ida*, this also does not take notice of the manuscripts of the work available in Indian libraries. The article makes no serious analysis of Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī's teachings as a whole.

The third article deals with Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī, and the continuation of his traditions by Saiyid Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh. The traditions concerning Saiyid Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh in Irān and India are very complex, and Mole has oversimplified the issues. Since the Nūrbakhsh movement is not the subject matter of the present work, comments on the subject are reserved for a future occasion.

The main theme of Mole's last article is to trace the Shī'ī leanings among the Kubraviya saints of the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries, including Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī. Mole has failed to examine the history of the development of the Shī'ī movement in Irān and has simplified the many entangled problems of Shī'ism on the basis of its theoretical principles, which in actual practice had developed considerable differences by the period under discussion. He does not differentiate between the conditions prevailing in Khurāsān and those in other parts of Irān and Irāq. The impact of the rising tide of Isma'īlism, which menaced Sunnī orthodoxy in Najmu'd-Dīn Kubrā's days, is not very relevant to the Isnā Ashāri'ī Shī'ī movement of the fifteenth century.

Mole's biographical notes on Saiyid 'Alī are drawn mostly from the *Khulāsatu'l-Manāqib* of Ja'far Badakhshī. Hikmat's article, referred to earlier, is also quoted as a source. The author does not pretend to deal with the Saiyid's visit to Kashmir in this article.

Among the works of Saiyid 'Alī which Mole mentions are : *Chihil-Maqānāt-i-Ṣūfiyya*, *Risāla-i-Futwātiyya*, *Risāla-i-*

Aurādiya, *Kitābu'l-I'tiqādiya*, *Risāla-i-Zikriya* and *Zakhiratu'l-Mulūk*.¹

The author rightly remarks that Saiyid 'Alī's thoughts were generally influenced by the teachings of Ibn 'Arabī.² In the present study, parallels in the teachings of the two saints have been given wherever available.

Teufel has recently published an abridged translation of the *Khulāṣatu'l-Manāqib* of Ja'far Badakhshī into German (Leiden, 1962). In the introductory chapter the author traces the life of Saiyid 'Alī on the basis of the *Khulāṣatu'l-Manāqib*, *Marturāt*, *Tārīkh-i-A'zāmī* and Sufi's *Kashīr*. He mentions two visits of Saiyid 'Alī to Kashmīr (in 781/1379, and 789/1384),³ whereas Sufi and other modern scholars mention three.⁴ But Teufel offers no justification for his decision to allot only two visits to the Saiyid; nor does he give any reference to or comment on the Saiyid's activities in Kashmīr. His statement that "The house of Shāh Mīr went over to Islam in 720/1320"⁵ is supported neither by medieval nor by modern scholars.

However, the author has realistically rejected the story of Saiyid 'Alī's confrontation with Tīmūr.⁶

He has also briefly described some of the biographies of Saiyid 'Alī, including the *Masturāt*,⁷ Before commencing the translation of the *Khulāṣatu'l-Manāqib*, he gives a detailed list of the works of Saiyid 'Alī in different libraries in Europe,⁸ Turkey and Irān. He takes no notice, however, of the works of the Saiyid available in Indian libraries, in Kashmīr for instance, and at Rāmpur.

In the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, S.M. Stern (p. 392) regrettably repeats traditional and uncritical material about Saiyid 'Alī's journeys to Kashmīr which vitiate the value of his conclusions. Like other modern scholars, Stern believes that

1. 111.

2. Ibid.

3. Pp. 32-33.

4. Cf. *Kashīr*, I, pp. 86-87; *Sultāns*, pp. 55-56.

5. P. 32.

6. P. 29. See also *infra*, pp. 33-34.

7. Pp. 9-18.

8. Pp. 40-46.

Saiyid 'Alī visited Kashmīr three times.¹ He also alleges that the Saiyid was accompanied to Kashmīr by 700 Saiyids. Teufel (p. 33) interprets this surprising statement to mean that the news of the influence and powers that Saiyid 'Alī had attained in Kashmīr induced other Saiyids, to the number of 700, to flow into the Valley.

Modern Irānī scholars have also discussed Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī in their general histories of Sufism, written in Persian.² They generally give details of Saiyid 'Alī's spiritual ancestry and catalogue some of his works. They are mainly interested in glorifying the Saiyid's importance as an Irānī.

However, a more sober article entitled "Les voyages d'un Mystique persan de Hamadān au Kashmīr" was contributed by A. A. Hikmat, *Journal Asiatique*, CCXL, 1952. This article, as already mentioned, is important because it has been a source for Indian as well as European scholars. A. A. Hikmat's main source for Saiyid 'Alī's career in Kashmīr being *Kashīr*, the article needs no further comment.

Another prominent saint of Kashmīr who has received some attention from modern scholars is Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn Risnī. Temple, who edited and translated the sayings of Lallā into English, has described him, and also Saiyid 'Alī, in his introductory chapter (pp. 1-14). But some of his conclusions, such as Nūru'd-Dīn being senior to Lallā, are unproven.

Pandit Anand Kaul wrote a long article, "A Life of Nand Rīshī", in the *Indian Antiquary*,³ but it uncritically reproduces traditional and legendary material. The author, for example, accepts the stories of Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn's life as a thief on the basis of too literal an interpretation of some of the Shaikh's sayings.⁴

1. Stern claims that the Saiyid first visited Kashmīr in 774/1372 during the reign of Sultān Shihābu'd-Dīn. This assumption, which is supported by none of the sources except Ḥasan and Miskīn, is incorrect, as we have attempted to show. Cf. *infra*, pp. 35-36.
2. A good work for instance is *Uṣūl-i-Taṣawwuf* by Iḥṣānu'llāh 'Alī (Tehran 1379/1959-60), pp. 282-311.
3. V. 58, 1929; V. 59, 1930.
4. Cf. V. 58, pp. 196-198.

To write a scientific history of Sufism either in general or in a particular area, a modern scholar has to work through a vast mass of published and unpublished works. The most authentic is the literature written by eminent Ṣūfīs themselves about their doctrines, theories and practices. These works, mostly unpublished, contain sermons and discourses intended to point a moral and glorify the Ṣūfī doctrines. In their enthusiasm to prove the correctness of their doctrines and practices, they do not hesitate to rely on apocryphal *hadises* and legendary accounts and anecdotes of the prophets and the apostles. This has resulted in the emergence of a corpus of *hadises*, accepted by Ṣūfīs, although most of them are spurious.

However, this literature gives the basic framework and structure of Sufism in Kashmīr, as it does in the case of the histories of other countries, and reveals the minds of their authors and their readers.

The second category of authors on Sufism were immediate disciples of Ṣūfīs. They took down notes of the discourses of great masters, and later on wrote connected accounts of these sermons. Sometimes the notes were submitted to the master for correction and approval. Although this literature seems to be authentic, it is not free from the defects mentioned in the first category. However, it gives a better idea of time and place, even if not dated, because the account of the discourses is set against some historical background.

The third category is biographical accounts of Ṣūfīs drawn upon by the above two types of literature. Many biographers of the saints were trained traditionalists, and they applied the canons used in examining the traditions of the Prophet Muḥammad to the traditions of various Ṣūfīs. Some of these biographers have omitted the apocryphal and spurious material, so giving their work a greater degree of credibility. Biographers who were only credulous believers, however, in the miracles and supernatural powers of the saints, revelled in describing fantastic legends and anecdotes about the Ṣūfīs. They were interested only in glorifying the achievements of their masters, and found

ready material in spurious discourses and writings, ascribed to the great masters.

This sort of forgery was common in all Islamic countries and in each century, and such material presents a real difficulty to the objective modern scholar, who cannot afford to ignore it in forming a historical judgement.

The fourth source of information about the *Ṣūfīs* are the political chronicles. They describe some of the leading *Ṣūfīs* who either wielded influence at the court or clashed with the ruling class and the elite over religious issues. Unlike hagiologers of the saints they were not generally concerned with the glorification of the *Ṣūfīs*; but as their main source of information was unauthentic literature, they also have incorporated legendary material in their works.

The *Ṣūfī* literature of Kashmīr contains all the above types of material.

The works of Saiyid ‘Alī Hamadānī do not say anything about his personal life, but mainly deal with mystic beliefs and practices, and also throw light on his political ideas. Likewise Nūru’d-Dīn’s sayings do not tell us anything about his life, but they are important as they throw light on his religious beliefs and on aspects of medieval Kashmīrī society. Attempts have been made to construct biographical details on the basis of these sayings of the *Shaiḥ*. But like the sayings of Kabīr and Nānak, the sayings of *Shaiḥ* Nūru’d-Dīn were intended to draw moral conclusions, and present aspects of ethical behaviour in different situations. Unless corroborated by authentic contemporary sources, it would not be fair to construct any biographical detail on the basis of these sayings.

Some writings of Saiyid ‘Alī and sayings of *Shaiḥ* Nūru’d-Dīn have been ascribed to other *Ṣūfīs*, while some writings of other *Ṣūfīs* have been ascribed to the former. It is therefore essential that no conclusions should be based on the unauthentic writings of the great masters.

Similarly, the works of Bābā Dāwud *Khākī* and *Shaiḥ* Yā‘qub Ṣarfī help us to determine their religious ideas and

their attitude towards the Shī'ī sect, which by their time was strongly established in Kashmīr.

Of the works of the disciples of Mīr Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī the only one available is the *Khulāṣatu'l-Manāqib* (begun in 787/1385), by Ja'far Badakhshī. It is a compendium of the anecdotes which he had heard his master relate. Some anecdotes and legends are drawn from other sources. The work includes the verses of the Saiyid and some other Sūfīs such as 'Aṭṭār and Sa'dī. It also quotes *ḥadīses* said to have been recounted by the Saiyid from time to time. It mentions Najmu-'d-Dīn Kubrā's *Fawātiḥu'l-Jamāl*,¹ and Saiyid 'Alī's *Zakhīratu'l-Mulūk*² and *Wāridāt*.³

The *Khulāṣtu'l-Manāqub* tends to show that Saiyid 'Alī had a very high opinion of his own achievements as a saint. For instance, he is made to claim that his devotional exercises were at par with those of Imām Zainu'l-Ābidīn,⁴ son of Imām Ḥusain. It also suggests that Saiyid 'Alī thought that his contemporaries had failed to recognise the true worth of himself and his works.⁵

The biographical references 'in the *Khulāṣatu'l-Manāqib* are not many, and deal mainly with the Saiyid's activities in *Khuttalān*, *Badakhshān* and *Hamadān*. The work, surprisingly, makes no reference to Saiyid 'Alī's visit to Kashmīr.

Although the anecdotes and legends ascribed to Saiyid 'Alī are dubious, the biographical references are valuable and clearly reveal his personality.

The *Khulāṣatu'l-Manāqib* has recently been translated into German by Teufel (Leiden, 1962).⁶ He seems to have used the following manuscripts: Berlin (Pertsch) Nos. 6, 8; Oxford (Ethé) No. 1889.

Both the manuscripts are undated. Teufel appears to have had no knowledge of the manuscripts in the Rīzā Library, Rāmpur, and the Oriental Research Department at Srīnagar,

1. *K.M.* (Ms.) pp. 512-13.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 537.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 559.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 472.

5. *Ibid.*

6. See *supra*, p. xv.

used in the present work. His translation, although useful, would have been still better if he had consulted other known manuscripts before completing his text.

Another biography of Saiyid 'Alī is the *Mastūrat* by one Ḥaidar, completed in 1136/1723.¹ It makes a brief reference to Saiyid 'Alī's visit to Kashmir, but it mainly draws upon the *Khulāṣatu'l-Manāqib*, with excursions in the realms of myth. The legends added by Ḥaidar are intended to glorify the achievements of Saiyid 'Alī. It is alleged that the Saiyid claimed that the Prophet had ordered him to visit Kashmir to convert the people there to Islam.²

This shows that before 350 years had elapsed, the legends about Saiyid 'Alī had developed in the direction of making him a great missionary. These accretions were further elaborated by subsequent scholars such as Wahhāb, Ḥasan and Miskīn³ who transformed Saiyid 'Alī into a legendary figure.

The *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr*, by Saiyid 'Alī,⁴ although a political chronicle, devotes more space to the saints of Kashmir including Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī, Mīr Muḥammad, Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn Rishī and his disciples. It is the only Persian chronicle available which was written during the period under review. The author, who flourished in the sixteenth century, witnessed many historical and religious conflicts such as the Shī'ī-Sunnī controversies during Mīrzā Ḥaidar's time.⁵ But he does not throw any light on the causes of tension and conflict between the two Muslim communities. However, he tries to prove that the Sunnī Ṣūfīs were able to minimise Shī'ī influence in Kashmir.

Although his account of the conflict between Mīr Muḥammad and Saiyid Ḥiṣārī is brief,⁶ it shows that the Kubravīyas

1. See *infra*, p. 268 for the date and authorship of the work.

2. F. 420a.

3. The authors of *F.K.*, *T.H.*, and *T.K.*, respectively.

4. See *infra*, pp. 274-75, for the date and the detailed analysis of the work.

5. See *infra*, p. 274.

6. F. 10b.

in Kashmir were divided among themselves on the issue of treatment of non-Muslims.

Unlike the later writers, the author does not attribute Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī's migration to Kashmir to Tīmūr's persecution, but states that before coming the Saiyid had sent two of his cousins to Kashmir to explore the religious and political atmosphere there.¹

His account of the Rishīs is also brief and legendary. No biographical account of Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn Rishī's attempted but much space is devoted to a description of his miraculous powers. The same style is followed for the description of the Shaikh's followers, Bāmu'd-Dīn, Zainu'd-Dīn and Naṣīru'd-Dīn. But his account of Mīr Muḥammad's encounter with Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn is of great importance. It helps us to determine the attitudes of the two saints on petty issues such as abstaining from marriage and eating meat. During his narrative the author mentions two sources no longer extant :² *Tārīkh-i-Qāzi* by Qāzi Ibrāhīm, and an untitled work of Ibrāhīm Adham, a Kubravī saint of Kashmir.³

The later hagiologists draw upon the *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr* of Saiyid 'Alī profusely, but they also continue to add legendary anecdotes in order to make the achievements of the Ṣūfiṣ more impressive. For example, Saiyid 'Alī refers to the encounter of Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn with Bāmu'd-Dīn before the latter's conversion,⁴ but unlike later hagiologists (Naṣīb the author of *Rishī-Nāmā*⁵ and Wahhāb the author of *Futūḥāt-i-Kubrāwī*),⁶ Saiyid 'Alī does not state that the Shaikh had flung the bloody skin of a newly slaughtered cow over his shoulders when he visited Bāmu'd-Dīn. Such embroideries by later hagiologists seem to have been made to show the Shaikh as an orthodox and narrow-minded Muslim.

It is not difficult to exclude the legendary material from the *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr* of Saiyid 'Alī, as the author puts the religious events in their proper historical setting.

1. F. 1a

2. Ff. 1a, 34b.

3. See infra, p. 95, for his biography.

4. F. 32a-b.

5. Ff. 254h-55a.

6. Ff. 92b-93a.

The source next in importance for our study is the *Rishī-Nāmā* by Naṣīb, completed in 1041/1631. It is an important source of information for the lives and activities of the Rishī saints. There is hardly any later hagiological work which does not quote it.

The author says in the introduction that the reason for its composition was to glorify the deeds of the saints of the past. Thus, as he is a hagiologist, we cannot expect from Naṣīb any historical acumen in analysing personalities such as Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn and Bāmu'd-Dīn.

Much as Naṣīb's account is legendary. The legends described by him are frequently coloured with romantic touches. They generally ascribe all conversions, such as those of Bāmu'd-Dīn, Zainu'd-Dīn and Latīfu'd-Dīn, to the supernatural powers of Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn. They also try to prove that the Shaikh was a great missionary of Islam.¹

However, the saying of Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn recorded by Naṣīb help us in determining the teachings of the Shaikh, and present him as a holy man of few pretensions.

Naṣīb also refers to the anti-Shī'ī activities of Mirzā Ḥaidar and Shaikh Ḥamza. But his account in this respect is biased. The author's dislike of the Shī'īs is quite clear from the fact that he frequently calls them "miserable" and "wretched." He quotes some anecdotes in order to show that Ṣūfis such as Shaikh Ḥamza, though their supernatural powers used to pick out the Shī'īs from among any gathering, which enabled them to crush Shī'ī sacrilegious activities.

However, when his account is critically analysed and legendary material is removed, he comes out as a truthful narrator. For example, he says that in pre-Islamic days there lived three Rishīs, whose ages he determines according to their deeds.² The story seems to be a Hindu mythological tale, but when examined it can be recognised that the Rishī way of life was practised by the Hindu ascetics of Kashmir: a fact to

1. See *infra*, p. 159ff.

2. See *infra*, p. 135.

which Mishkāṭī, the author of *Asārū'l-Abrār*, clearly refers when he says that Nūru'd-Dīn renewed the ancient traditions of the Rishīs though ignoring their monastic life and Brāhmaṇic beliefs.¹

Another biography of the Rishīs, also entitled the *Rishī-Nāmā*, is by Bēhāu'd-Dīn Mattū (d. 1248/1832). Mattū's vehicle of expression being poetry, he gives limitless flight to his imagination and colours the legends with allegory and metaphor.

The work shows that with the passage of time the tapestry of Rishī myths and legends was further elaborated through imaginary events. In order to show the supernatural powers of the Ṣūfīs, for which the pious memory of later generations remembered them, stories were invented such as that telling of the Sultān Sikandar sending a courtesan to Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn to test his spirituality.²

Among the general biographies, the most noteworthy are *Asārū'l-Abrār*, *Futūhāt-i-Kubrā'iya*, *Khawāriqū's-Sālikīn*, and *Tārīkh-i-Ḥasan*. They draw mainly upon the earlier traditions and confirm anecdotes according to their own taste and belief. The later sources, such as *Tārīkh-i-Ḥasan*, are detailed, and the latter is regarded by some modern scholars³ as a compendium of historical knowledge about Kashmīr, but it is in fact very uncritical and unreliable.

The *Asārū'l-Abrār* of Mishkāṭī, completed in 1063/1653, contains biographical accounts of the important saints of Kashmīr. Saiyid 'Alī Ḥamadānī and his disciples are described briefly, and more attention is paid to the Rishīs. Like the *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr* of Saiyid 'Alī, this book highly extols the missionary activities of Mīr Muḥammad, and Sultān Sikandar's anti-Hindu measures.

Mishkāṭī corroborates Naṣīb, and often quotes him as the source of his information. But in certain places as we have seen earlier, his information is definitely more revealing than

1. See *infra*, p. 135,

2. See *infra*, y. 135, n. 5.

3. Cf. *Sultāns*, pp. 13-14; *History of Muslim Rule in Kashmīr*, p. 15.

the information supplied by Naṣīb. He also quotes some of the sayings of Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn which do not appear in Naṣīb's *Rishī-Nāmā* and which he says he collected from various sources; which, however, he does not mention. He is the first authority to ascribe Nūru'd-Dīn's conversion to Lallā.¹

Where Mishkāṭi finds evidence conflicting, he quotes his source and leaves the reader to form his own conclusions.

Khawāriqū's-Sāllikīn, by Mullā bin 'Abdu's Ṣabūr completed in 1100/1698, gives a brief account of all the prominent Ṣūfis of Kashmir. Important personalities such as Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn and Mīr Muḥammad are often dismissed in few lines. The work describes Ṣūfis under the three categories—Saiyids, Rishīs and Mashā'ikh of Kashmir—and therefore is defective in chronology. But for some events the author is nearer the truth than even some earlier authorities. For example, the circumstances of Zainu'd-Dīn and Latīfu'd-Dīn's conversion is free from legend in his treatment; other sources sacrifice reality to pretty conjecture.² However, the author wrongly states that every Saiyid who migrated to Kashmir came from Persia (*wilāyat*).

The *Futūḥāt-i-Kubraviya* by 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb, completed in 1162/1749, contains a biographical account of almost all the Kubravī and Rishī saints of Kashmir. It supplements the information recorded by earlier authorities such as Naṣīb, Mishkāṭi and others. However, the new additions provided by the author are not always reliable and most of them are of legendary nature. For example the story of Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī's confrontation with Tīmūr, as described by him, is legendary and has no historical significance.³

Wahhāb's evaluation of the Kubravīya saints is exaggerated and prejudiced. According to him, when Mīr Muḥammad visited Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn, the latter accepted him as his preceptor. The earlier sources who have recorded the meeting of the two saints say nothing about this.⁴ The study of the bio-

1. See *infra*, p. 141.

2. See *infra*, p. 162.

3. See *infra*, p. 33, n. 9.

4. See *infra*, p. 143.

graphies of the *Mīr* and the *Shaikh* reveal that they belong to two different paths.¹

It is easy to discern and detect the subjective element in his narrative. It becomes clear that he was mainly concerned with the glorification of the Kubraviyas, and did not wish to accept the separate identity of the Rishī order.

In presenting the story of the conflict between Mīr Muḥammad and Saiyid Ḥiṣārī, Wahhāb takes sides with the former, and does not make an objective assessment of the situation.²

Wahhāb is the first authority to reproduce in full (in his work *Futūḥāt-i-Kubraviya*) the *Waṣīyat-Nāmā* of Saiyid ‘Alī Hamadānī, which he had written for his son, Mīr Muḥammad, and also the first to use the *Waqf-Nāmā* of the *Khānqāh-i-Mu‘llā*, Srīnagar. As pointed out earlier³ the authenticity of these documents is uncertain. However, the latter helps us to form some idea of the working of the *Khānqāh*.

Again, Wahhāb is the first authority to refer to the letter which Mīr Shamsu‘d-Dīn ‘Iṣāqī, the founder of the Isnā ‘Asharī Shī‘ī sect in Kashmīr, is said to have written to Shaikh Faṭḥu‘l-lāh, a Kubravī saint of Kashmīr, and the latter’s reply.⁴ Such bits of information are revealing and valuable as they throw some light on the conflict between Ṣūfis and the Shī‘īs.

Among the biographers of Saiyid ‘Alī Hamadānī, Wahhāb is the only authority to record the sixteen treatises by the Saiyid, and he pointedly refers to the *Zakhīratu‘l-Mulūk*.⁵

The *Tārīkh-i-Hasan*, by Pīr Ḥasan (d. 1898) is a mine of information about the political, religious and cultural life of Kashmīr. The list of sources given by Ḥasan includes many works which are now unknown and untraceable.

1. See *infra*, p. 143.

2. See *infra*, pp. 102-3.

3. See *supra*, p. xviii.

4. See *infra*, p. 218.

5. See *infra*, p. 40. n. 2.

The author adds a large number of anecdotes and legends which are not found in the earlier works. He has also tried to fill in the gaps by incorporating some unauthenticated facts which were floating down in the stream of time. The sayings and the verses of various Şūfis, such as Saiyid Muḥammad Admīn and Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn, have also been recorded. The sayings of the Shaikh are reproduced in the Kashmirī language of the time whereas they have been rendered into Persian in the works of Naşīb and Mishkāṭī.

Although we cannot rely upon the new information supplied by Ḥasan without examining its credibility very thoroughly, we may extract much new material to reconsider our judgements.

The three other works which deserve our attention are : *Dastūr-us-Sālikin*, by Bābā Dāwud Khākī (completed in 962/1555), *Chillatu'l-Ārifīn*, by Khawāja Ishāq Qārī' (completed in 982/1575), and *Hidāyatu'l-Mukulisin*, by Ḥaidar Tūlmūlī (completed in 997/1589). They are biographies of Shaikh Ḥamza, a prominent Suhrawardī saint of Kashmir.¹

All three authors were direct disciples of Shaikh Ḥamza, but their works are not of equal importance. Both Qārī' and Ḥaidar generally base their accounts on the *Dastūr's-Sālikin* of Khākī, who was more intimately associated with Shaikh Ḥamza, and had better access to information about him.

All three works are overlaid with legendary material, and offer a remarkable catalogue of the miracles of their hero. Thus we are told that how the Shaikh's power healed the sick and dying in the face of the failure of medical knowledge.

However, the sayings of Shaikh Ḥamza recorded by them are almost ideatival. These sayings are very valuable because they help us to determine the authenticity of the anecdotal material given by them and other scholars in the biography of the Shaikh.

The political chronicle of Kashmir, both in Sanskrit and Persian, also contain valuable information about the

1. Cf. *infra*, pp. 20-24 for his biography.

leading Śūfis of that country. The most outstanding among them are the versions of the *Rājatarāṅgi* by Jonarāja and Shrivara, both in Sanskrit, the *Bahāristān-i-Shāhi* (anonymous), the *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr* by Ḥasan bin 'Alī, and the *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr* by Ḥaidar Malik, all in Persian.

Jonarāja, who flourished during Sultān Zain'ul-'Ābidīn's time (1420-70), gives an important account of the establishment of Muslim rule in Kashmīr and Mīr Muḥammad's influence over Sultān Sikandar.¹ He also throws light on the attitude of Sultān Sikandar and Zainu'l-'Ābidīn towards the Śūfis. His passing reference to Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn's harassment by the orthodox Mulims is very informative.²

Being contemporary, Jonarāja's account is reliable. However, sometimes he is carried away by his prejudices. For example, his story that Rinchana, originally a Buddhist, was refused initiation into Hinduism is concocted.³

Shrivara, the pupil of Jonarāja, continued the account of Muslim rule in Kashmīr from 1459 to 1486. He throws light on the activities of the Baihaqī Saiyids. However, his most useful and interesting contribution is his account of the cultural conquest of Kashmīr by the Irānian immigrants.

The Persian chronicles mentioned above were all written after the fall of Kashmīr to the Mughals. Describing the importance of these works, Muḥibbu'l-Ḥassan remarks: "In spite of this [that they were composed after the Mughal conquest of Kashmīr] they are very important and must be regarded as original sources, because their authors had passed their childhood and youth in the times of the later Shāh Mīrs and the Chaks, and wrote either from personal observation or utilized the accounts of earlier authorities [for example the works of Mullā Aḥamad and Mullā Nādirī] which are not known to exist".⁴

1. Cf. *infra*, p. 101.

2. Cf. *infra*, p. 158.

3. Cf. *infra*, pp. 8-9.

4. *Sultāns*, p. 5.

Although it is not certain that the author of the *Bahāristān-i-Shāhī*, who wrote the work in 1516, passed his childhood and youth in the times of the later Shāh Mirs (1339-1561) and the Chaks (1561-87), as Muḥibbu'l-Ḥasan says, the *Bahāristān-i-Shāhī* and other later works such as these of Ḥasan bin 'Alī and Ḥaidar Malik are very important historical sources of the period. The freedom of expression which the authors enjoyed under Akbar and Jahāngir did not prevent them from voicing their nostalgic feelings for the chaotic but perhaps freer past.

Both Ḥasan bin 'Alī and Ḥaidar Malik closely follow the *Bahāristān-i-Shāhī*. The events which took place during the early Muslim rule in Kashmir described by all three authorities are identical. However, towards the end of the sixteenth century we notice some differences in their narratives.

The account they give of the Ṣūfīs is more or less free of legends. In fact they act as correctives to the wrong impression created by the hagiological literature, for example when it suggests that Saiyid 'Alī wielded great influence over Sultān Qutbu'd-Dīn of Kashmir. But it is from these political chronicles that we come to know that the Saiyid and the Sultān were basically in disagreement with each other on many issues.¹

It is to be noted that those modern scholars who claim to have used these chronicles do not refer to the conflict between the Saiyid and the Sultān.²

The statements of all these Persian chronicles about various religious conflicts are generally impartial, but they do not fail to criticise the anti-Shī'ī activities of Mirzā Ḥaidar, or Yā'qūb Shāh's intolerant attitude towards the Sunnīs.

Among the later historians who have supplied valuable information about the Ṣūfīs of Kashmir, Muḥammad A'zam particularly deserves to be noted. A'zam's work, *Tārīkh-i-A'zamī* (completed in 1160/1747) was published at Lahore in 1303/1885. The author generally corroborates the accounts of

1. Cf. *infra*, p. 39.

2. For example, Muḥibbu'l-Ḥasan's *Kashmīr under the Sultāns* and Parmu's *History of Muslim rule in Kashmīr*.

the *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr* by Saiyid ‘Alī, the *Rishī-Nāmā* by Naṣīb, and Mishkatī’s *Asṭāru’l-Abrār*. Little legendary material is given. Muḥammad A‘zamī is the first to recognise the Sanskrit origin of the word *rishī*.¹ The *Tārīkh-i-A‘zamī* also contains some of the verses of Ṣūfīs not recorded in earlier sources. However, it over-estimates the role of some of the Ṣūfīs in the Mughal Conquest of Kashmīr.² Almost all modern scholars who have written about Kashmīr have drawn heavily upon this work.

Some other chronicles, such as the *Gauhar-i-‘Ālam* by Muhammad Aslām (completed in 1200/1785), the *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr* by Birbal Kachrū (completed in 1252/1835), and the *Tārīkh-i-Kabīr* by Muḥiyu’d-Dīn Miskīn (completed in 1321/1903), have also been used but only where corroborative or confirmative evidence is available from other sources.³

1. Cf. *infra*, p. 135.

2. Cf. *infra*, pp. 233-236.

3. A detailed description of the primary sources used in the present work is given in Appendix F.

*Themes of Kashmīrī Sufism in relation to the general
history and development of Sufism*

It is neither proper nor possible to deal here extensively with the development and growth of Sufism outside Kashmīr. But we should make a very brief reference to it to provide a background for our exposition of Kashmīrī Sufism.

Much has been said, both by traditional Muslim scholars¹ and modern scholars² of Sufism on the derivation of the word 'Ṣūfī'. Different opinions were put forward and its derivation was sought by some from *ṣafā* (purify), *aṣḥāb-i-ṣuffā* (people of the bench) and even from the Greek *sophia* (wisdom). Some masters even suggested that 'Ṣūfī' is a word too exalted to be derived from anything.³

1. Most of the Ṣūfī scholars favour the theory that the word 'Ṣūfī' is derived from *ṣafā*. Others connected it with *ṣaff-i-awāl*. But Qushairī and some others believe that none of these explanations satisfy the requirements of etymology.

However, Hujwīrī *Kashf*, p. 34) says that, "The name has no derivation answering to etymological requirements inasmuch as Sufism is too exalted to have any genus from which it might be derived; for the derivation of one thing from another demands homogeneity (*mujā-nasat*)"; *Kashf*, p. 34.

Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj is of the opinion that the word 'Ṣūfī' was derived from *ṣūf* (wool), for woollen raiment was the habit of the prophets and the badge of the saints; Nicholson, art., "Ṣūfis", *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, XII. p. 12; L. Massignon, art., "Taṣawwuf", *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Shorter), pp. 579-80. See also Arberry, *The Doctrine of the Ṣūfis*, chapt. 1 entitled "How the Ṣūfis account for their being called Ṣūfis"; *Kashf*, p. 30ff.

2. Concerning the various meanings given to the term "Ṣūfī", see Nicholson, "An Historical Enquiry concerning the Origin and Development of Ṣūfis", *Journal Royal Asiatic Society* (London), 1906, p. 303ff; S. Rahman, "Ṣūfism and Islam", *Islamic Culture*, I, 1927, p. 640; Mir Valiuddin, *The Quranic Sufism*, p. 1ff.
3. Cf. *Kashf*, p. 34.

However, it is now generally recognised that the term was derived from *Ṣūf* (wool) and was applied to those Muslim holy men who wore woolen garments and devoted themselves to a life of self-renunciation, living in poverty and giving their time to prayer and meditation, who were thus called Sufis.¹

Introducing Sufism and the *Ṣūfīs* in *The Mystics of Islam*, Professor R.A. Nicholson rightly says :²

The *Ṣūfīs* are not a sect, they have no dogmatic system, the *ṭarīqas* or paths by which they seek God "are in number as the souls of men" and vary infinitely, though a family likeness may be traced in them all. Descriptions of such a protean phenomenon must differ widely from one another, and the impression produced in each case will depend on the choice of materials and the prominence given to this or that aspect of the many sided myth.

Although the Prophet discouraged monkish austerity³ and escapism, the *Ṣūfīs* interpret some verses of the *Qur'ān*⁴ and

1. The derivation of the word *ṣūf* appears to be correct and the expression sound from the etymological point of view. Nöldeke (*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XLVIII, p. 45) has shown conclusively that the name was derived from *ṣūf*; Cf. *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Shorter), p. 579. See also Arberry, *Sufism*, p. 35; Margaret Smith, *Readings from the Mystics of Islam*, pp. 2-3; Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam*, p. 3.

2. P. 27.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

4. Cf. *Qur'ān*. 2:24, 182; 29:19; 50:15; 51:20, 21.

Ṣūfī commentaries on the *Qur'ān* were written by, among others, 'Abdu'l-Rahman b. Musā a's-Sulāmi al Azadi an-Nishāpūrī (*Al-Huda'iq Fi't Tafsīr*); Abu'l-Qāsim Abu'l Karīm b. 'Abdu'l Malik b. Tahah b. Muḥammad al-Qushairī (*Latifu'l-Ishrat*); Abu Muḥammad Rūzbihān b. Naṣr al-Baqlī a's-Ṣūfī a'sh Shīrāzī (*Arā'isu'l-Bayān fi Haqā'iq al-Qur'ān*); and Najmu'd-Dīn Abū Bakr 'Abdu'l-Lāh b. Muḥammad al Asadī ar-Razī (*Baḥru'l-Hoqā'iq wa'l Ma'ānī*). See also, Rahman, op. cit., p. 648, Mir Valiuddin, *Quranic Sufism*, p. 6ff.

Among the few well known Western scholars who have conceded the Quranic origin of Sufism, one can name Morgoliouth and especi-

the traditions¹ of Muḥammad in such a way as to prove that Sufism is the reality and essence of Islam.

The political, economic, social and personal factors that led to the birth and growth of Sufism were multifarious.²

Firstly the basis of Sufism may be sought in the human aspiration to a personal direct approach to, and a more intense experience of, the Supreme Being and the religious truth. A strong religious emotion could not be satisfied by any formal approach to the Ultimate Reality.

Secondly, Sufism represents a reaction against over-intellectualism, formalism and hair-splitting theology. People who yearned for a direct and natural approach towards Islam turned mainly to its spiritual and devotional aspects.

Thirdly, the spiritual movement in Islam was the result of an inner rebellion of conscience against the social injustices which followed after the Umayyads came to power.³

To these may also be added the circumstances that gave rise to tensions and conflicts in Kufā and Baṣrā, where Islamic mysticism is believed to have started.⁴

ally Massignon and Corbin; whereas most other famous scholars, like Horten, Nicholson, Asin Palacios, Zaehner and Arberry have posed a Hindu, Neoplatonic, Christian, or Zoroastrian origin for Sufism.

Massignon, in his monumental work *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane* (p. 84), says : "It is from the Qur'ān, constantly recited, meditated, practised, that Islamic mysticism proceeds, in its origin and in its development. Based on the frequent re-reading and recitation of a text considered as sacred, Islamic mysticism derived therefrom its distinctive characteristics"; cited by Arberry, *An Introduction to the History of Sufism*, p. 49.

1. Cf. Nicholson, *The Idea of Personality in Sufism*, p. 7; *The Mystics of Islam*, p. 23; Arberry, *Sufism*, pp. 25-26; M.M. Zahurū'd-Dīn Ahmad, *An Examination of the Mystic tendencies in Islam in the light of the Qur'ān and traditions*.
2. Cf. Margaret Smith, *Readings from the Mystics of Islam*, p. 1; Nicholson, *The Idea of Personality in Sufism*, pp. 7-9; *The Mystics of Islam*, p. 4 ff.; see also, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, XII, p. 11.
3. Cf. Arberry, *Sufism*, pp. 32-33.
4. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 35; *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, XII, p. 11; *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Shorter), p. 580.

Sufism in general is not a theoretical and formalist approach to religion but demands devotion to God, love, and renunciation in order to reach the goal generally described by the Šūfīs as *fanā* and *baqā*.¹

Broadly speaking there were three distinct stages in the development and growth of the mystic movement in Islam—the periods of the quietists, the mystic thinkers, and the *silsilas*.

During the period of the quietists the mystic movement had an individual basis. People such as Abū Zarr Ghifārī² and Ḥasan Baṣrī,³ dissatisfied with the political and economic development of the expanding Arab Empire of the first century of Islam, cut themselves off from worldly attachments and preferred seclusion. Then with the Šūfīs such as Rābi'a (713 or 717-801)⁴ the element of love was introduced into Sufism. God was not worshipped now to seek gains in the next world but for His Love alone. "I have served Him", Rābi'a is reported to have said, "only for the love of Him and out of desire for Him".

1. For the definition of the terms see *infra*, pp. 47-48.
2. A companion of the Prophet, who died in al-Rabaza in the neighbourhood of Medina, whither he had retired in the year 32 or 33/653. It is principally on account of his ascetic tendencies that he became, in the later traditions of the Šūfīs and Shī'īs, who relate many stories about him, a model for pious Muslims; *Encyclopaedia of Islām*, I, pp. 114-15.
3. He was born in 21/642 and later he settled in Baṣrā. "He exercised a lasting influence on the development of Sufism, by his ascetic piety which shone all the more by contrast, as by his time a worldly spirit had penetrated all classes in Islam. Numerous pious sayings are placed on his lips and the Šūfīs see in him a predecessor, whom they quote as often, as do the orthodox Sunnīs." He died on 1 Rajab, 110/10 October, 728. *Encyclopaedia of Islām* (N), II, p. 273.
4. The "saint par excellence of the Sunnite hagiology" is highly respected for her inculcating penitence, gratitude, holy fear, voluntary poverty and utter dependence (*tawakkul*) upon God. When in a dream the Prophet asked her whether she loved him, her reply was: "My love for God has so possessed me that no place remains for hating aught or loving any save Him". Cf. Margaret Smith, *Rabia the Mystic and her Fellow Saints in Islam*.

By the time of Muḥāsabī (781-857)¹ some literature on Sufism had emerged, to give it a theoretical basis. The *Risāla* of Qushairī gives the broad framework of Sufism.² With it Sufism enters into its second stage of development. It seeks to defend itself from the onslaught of the 'ulamā and other critics of its system. Sufism found a new impetus with the works of Ghazālī whose prestige as an 'ālim enhanced respect for Sufism among orthodox Muslims.³ Ghazālī's *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* in Arabic, and his *Kīmīyā'i-Sa'ādat* in Persian settled many controversies about Reality, the nature of Being and other controversial topics.

Ibn 'Arabī (1165-1240), who defined *Waḥdatu'l-Wujūd* (Unity of Being)⁴ in his monumental *Fuṣūs al-Ḥikam*, gave a

1. He was born at Baṣrā and educated at Baghdād, where he gained a thorough knowledge of theology and philosophy, as well as of Sufism. He is the author of some of the earliest works on Sufism. He is also well known for his method of examining the conscience; Margaret Smith, *Readings from the Mystics of Islam*, p. 14.
2. Cf. Arberry, *Sufism*, p. 74; *Revelation and Reason in Islam*, p. 108.
3. Ibid., p. 74; *ibid.*, chapter III; *The Mystics of Islam*, pp. 24-25.
4. He emphasized that Reality is one and indivisible. The creative power of God acts through His servant who is a locus (*maḥal*) on which this power is focussed. He says : "The believer praises the God who is in his form of belief and with whom he has connected himself, and to praise the work is to praise the maker of it; its excellence or imperfection belongs to its maker. For this reason he blames the beliefs of others, which he would not do [if he were just. Beyond doubt, the worshipper of this particular God shows ignorance when he criticizes others on account of their beliefs. If he understood the saying of Junayd, 'The colour of the water is the colour of the vessel containing it,' he would not interfere with the beliefs of others, but would perceive God in every form and in every belief. He has opinion, not knowledge : therefore God said, 'I am in My servant's opinion of Me', i.e., 'I do not manifest Myself to him save in the form of his belief'. God is absolute or restricted, as He pleases; and the God of religious beliefs is subject to limitation, for He is the God is not contained in the heart of His servant. But the absolute God who is contained by anything, for He is the being of all things and the Being of Himself, and a thing is not said either to contain itself or not to contain itself"; Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, p. 159. For a detailed study on the subject see A.E. Afifi, *The Mystical Philosophy of Muhyiddin-Ibnul 'Arabī*, and Henry Corbin, *L'Imagination créatrice dans le Soufisme d'Ibn 'Arabī*.

new basis to Ṣūfī thought which had far-reaching practical influence.

By the eleventh century A.D. the Ṣūfīs had organised themselves on the pattern of the Christian mystics and Buddhist monks. Their monasteries, known as *khānqāhs*, became the centre of the spiritual activities of the Ṣūfīs, who in earlier centuries had lived a solitary and unorganized life.

The origin of the *khānqāh* or monastery in Sufism is not precisely known, but the traditions ascribed to the great mystic Shaikh Abu Sa'īd bin Abu'l-*Khair*¹ tend to show that the rules of *khānqāh* life had evolved by this time. He laid down the following rules for the *khānqāhs* :²

Let them keep their garments clean and themselves always pure.

Let them not sit in the mosque or in any holy place for the sake of gossiping.

In the first instance let them perform their prayers in common.

Let them pray much at night.

At dawn let them ask forgiveness of God and call into Him.

In the morning let them read as much of the Koran as they can, and let them not talk until the sun has risen.

Between evening prayers and bedtime prayers let them occupy themselves with repeating some litany (*wirdi ū dhikri*).

Let them welcome the poor and needy and all who join their company, and let them bear patiently the trouble of (waiting upon) them.

Let them not eat anything save in participation with one another.

1. He was born at Mayhana, in *Khurāsān*, on 1 Muḥarram, 357/7 December, 967. Abu Sa'īd learnt the rudiments of Islamic education and Sufism from Abu Sa'īd Ayyārī and Abu'l-Qāsim Bishrī Yāsīn, both of Mayhana. Abu Sa'īd is known as the author of many mystical quatrains. He was a great teacher and preacher of Sufism. He died at his native place on 4 Sha'bān, 440/12 January, 1049; Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*.

2. Ibid., p. 46.

Let them not absent themselves without receiving permission from one another.

Furthermore, let them spend their hours of leisure in one of three things : either in the study of theology or in some devotional exercise (*wirdi*) or in bringing comfort to some one. Whosoever loves this community and helps them as much as he can is a sharer in their merit and future recompense.

The third and most important phase of the development of Sufism was the organization of the *Ṣūfis* into *Silsilas*. Although the early *Ṣūfis* led a life of renunciation, giving themselves up to devotion and meditation and prayer, they also spent time in offering spiritual guidance, either alone or in groups, to those who sought it.¹ The orders of the *Ṣūfis* described in Hujwiri's *Kashf-u'l-Mahjūb* seem to have emerged into new orders² with prominent figures such as Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qādir Jilānī (1078-1166),³ Shaikh Najmu'd-Dīn Kubrā (1145-1221)⁴ and Shaikh Shihābu'd-Dīn Suhrawardī (1144-1234)⁵ at their head. The works of these *Ṣūfis*, who became the founders of the new orders which developed in their names became the main textbooks for their disciples. 'Awārifu'l-Ma'ārif, written by Shaikh Shihābu'd-Dīn Suhrawardī, is a most comprehensive work and was widely read and drawn upon for guidance by the *Ṣūfis*.

The development of *khānqāhs* and *silsilas* is marked by the evolution of *Ṣūfī* practices such as relations between *pir* (preceptor) and *murid* (disciple) and rules for guiding the disciples.⁶ Each *silsila* evolved its own broad framework for

1. Concerning the *Ṣūfī* orders, see the article on "Tarīka" in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, by Massignon, and the classic work of O. Depont and X. Coppolani, *Les Confréries religieuses musulmanes*. See also Arberry, *Sufism*, p. 84ff.
2. Hujwiri mentions twelve of them which were named after their founders; *Kashf*, pp. 130, 176-266.
3. See *infra*, pp. 129-30.
4. See *infra*, pp. 28-29.
5. See *infra*, p. 16.
6. Cf. Arberry, *Sufism*, p. 85.

imparting guidance and a code of behaviour for the disciples. Although this imposed considerable rigidity upon Sufism, it generally prevented individual Ṣūfī from becoming victims of charlatans and their practices.

Although the rise and dominance of the Mongols over Central Asia and Persia gave a rude shock to the Islamic world, Sufism came to the rescue and fortified men's moral courage and prepared them to face the calamities befalling them.¹

Their main instrument of expression was poetry, which could be interpreted allegorically in a variety of ways without offending anyone. 'Aṭṭār (traditionally 1119-1230) and Rūmī (1207-1273) were the best preceptors of their time. They encouraged peaceful co-existence, exalted the virtues of amity and love, and spoke of the brotherhood of all mankind rather than of Muslims alone. Of Rūmī's great work, *Maṣnawī*, it is rightly said that it is "The Qur'ān in Persian" (*hast Qur'ān dar zabān-i-Pahlawī*).²

The Islamization of the Ilkhānid Mongols, however, encouraged the Muslims living under their rule to imagine that they were once again the chosen people of God and destined to dominate the world. Both the 'ulamā and the Ṣūfis set themselves the task of purifying Islam from the accretions which they considered unauthorised by the holy law.³

The most outstanding Ṣūfī personality of this time was Shaikh 'Alā'u'd-Daula Simnānī (d. 736/1336).⁴ He strongly opposed the doctrine of *Waḥdatu'l-Wujūd* of Ibn-i 'Arabi.⁵

1. Cf. M. Molé, "Les Kubrawiyya entre Sunnisme et Shī'isme aux huitième et neuvième siècles de l'hégire", *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, XXIX, 1961, p. 79.
2. Cited by S.A.A. Rizvi, *Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, p. 6.
3. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 37ff.
4. See *infra*, p. 30.
5. Cf. *Ghihīl-Majlis*, f. 164a-b. See also Molé, *op. cit.*, p. 82; Rizvi, *op. cit.*, p. 37; H. Landolt, Simnānī on *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* in *Wisdom of Persia Series IV*, edited by Mehdi Mohaghegh and Toshiko Izutsu (Tehran 1971), pp. 91-112; E. I., I., pp. 346-47.

'Ala'u'd-Daula, who had served the Ilkhān Arghūn (1284-1291) for some time, lamented later that he had given up Government service, because he believed that he could have served God better by serving the ruler. According to him, the duty of a Ṣūfī was to preach,¹ and he claimed to have defeated the Buddhists in every religious discussion he held with them.²

'Alā'u'd-Daula's teachings had a serious impact on the thinking of a section of the Ṣūfīs and changed the tone of their writings.³ Some of these holy men set aside the idea of universal brotherhood in favour of the narrower Islamic brotherhood, styled *futawwā*; they unearthed and refurbished Islamic legends tending to enhance the early glories of Islam, or widen yet further the contacts allegedly had by the Prophet with men from all over the world, with a view to suggesting that it was mere perverse obstinacy which prevented nations whose representatives had already had the honour of conversation with the Prophet from accepting Islam. With this in mind, they propagated the legend of Bābā Ratan, an alleged Indian who, prompted by a dream, travelled to Arabia and received the honour of conversion at Mecca from the Prophet's own hand.⁴ They argued the importance of dreams upon the faithful, as a method of communication of the divine will from heaven to mankind.⁵

Ṣūfīs and the background of the Bhakti

At the same time, in India, the well known tales of controversies between Ṣūfīs and Yogis began to emerge. The archetype seems to be the levitation of the Yogi, as a proof of his supernatural power; the Ṣūfī flings his slipper and brings him down; the superior spiritual power of the Ṣūfī is thus proved.⁶ Spurious biographies of saints, and compilations

1. See *infra*, p. 30.

2. Cf. *Chihil-Majlis*, ff. 138b-159b. See also Molé, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

3. Cf. Rizvi, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

4. Cf. *Chihil-Majlis*, f. ; *K.M.*, pp. 531-32. See also *T.Ks.*, f. 11a.

5. Cf. Meier, "Die Welt der Urbilder bei 'Alī Hamadānī", *Ernos-Jahrbuch*, XVIII, 1950.

6. See *infra*, p. 37.

purporting to reproduce their conversations, also begin to appear; the influence of this literary genre, which multiplied in the fifteenth century, has not yet ceased to work in some quarters.

However, the Indian Śūfī literature of this period seems favourably impressed by the description of the Unity of Being given by the Nāth Yogis.¹ Several anecdotes related by eminent Śūfis, such as Shaikh 'Aḥmad 'Abdu'l Ḥaq of Rudaulī (d. 1434), suggest that Yogis had ethical qualities far superior to those possessed by many Śūfis.² Those Śūfis who wrote Hindi verses began to adopt Nāth Panthī styles of expression and even Nāth Panthī themes.³

This interaction created a favourable climate for the development of the *Sant* literature in Hindawī, or the regional dialects of India, which is in effect the literature of the fifteenth and sixteenth century Bhakti movement in northern India, and which shows the mutual influence of Hindu Saints and Indian Śūfis. It would therefore be wrong to emphasise any particular person's role in promoting this or that particular development in the popular devotional development literature of northern India before the time of Kabīr (1440-1518). Similarly, it is impossible adequately to estimate the degree of any individual's influence, even in the case of Kabīr and Nānak (1469-1538),⁴ over both of whom grave differences of opinion persist to this day.

Ideological Framework of Kashmiri Śūfis and its main Themes

Sufism reached Kashmīr after it had entered the last and most important phase of its history—the organization of *khān-qāhs* and *silsilas*. Almost simultaneously with the foundation of Muslim rule in Kashmīr (720/1320), Sufism was introduced there. But real and continuous Śūfī activities began only towards the end of the fourteenth century. Henceforward

1. Cf. S.A.A. Rizvi, "Śūfis and Nātha Yogīs in Mediaeval Northern India (XII to VI Centuries)". *The Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia*, VII, 1970, p. 130. See also *Rushd-Nāmā*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p. VIII.

2. Cf. *ibid.*, . See also *The Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia*, VII, p. 127.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 128, 129.

4. Cf. W.H. Macleod, *Gurū Nānak and the Sikh Religion*.

Şūfis of outstanding personality, like Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī,¹ Mīr Muḥammad,² Saiyid Jamālu'd-Dīn Bukhārī³ and Saiyid Ismā'il Shāmi,⁴ began to enter Kashmir in quick succession.

Although in their organizational and devotional practices they differed from each other, their ideological framework was based mainly on the works of Ibn 'Arabī, and they seem to have taken little notice of Shaikh 'Ala'u'd-Daula's criticism of *Waḥdatu'l-Wujūd*. It seems that the traditions of Najmu'd-Dīn Kubrā were too strong for Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī to break by carving out a line of action based on Shaikh 'Ala'u'd-Daula Simnānī's opposition of *Waḥdatu'l-Wajūd*.

However, Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī and other Şūfis who came to Kashmir were deeply impressed with the teachings of Shaikh 'Alā'u'd-Daula Simnānī upon the missionary activities which he expected Şūfis to perform.

The period when Şūfis from Persia and Central Asia began to pour into Kashmir synchronized with the development of an indigenous Şūfī order known as the Rishī order,⁵ which encouraged a life of peaceful co-existence with all human beings. This divided Sufism in Kashmir into two different broad trends; the orthodox trend was generally followed by the Şūfis who migrated from Persia and Central Asia, while the Rishīs, mostly native, practised a broadly based system of co-existence.

The orthodox attracted the intellectual element; fortified by their superior ability in the literary arts, they served the rulers, whether at court or in the administrative branches. Their main concern appears to have been to help the administration, and make it an instrument in propagating Islam.

Şūfis and the Shi'is

The orthodox approach of the Şūfis as regards conformity with the Sunnī traditions is reflected somewhat in their

1. See for his biography and teachings, *infra*, p. 31 ff.

2. See for his biography, *infra*, p. 98 ff.

3. See for his biography, *infra*, p. 20.

4. See for his biography, *infra*, pp. 131-32.

5. See *infra*, chapters VI and VII.

struggle against Shī'ism, which was first introduced in Kashmīr towards the beginning of the sixteenth century.¹ In the early centuries of Islam the development of both Sufism and Shī'ism took place in parallel streams. Both were the victims of persecution by the orthodox elements attached to the Umayyād and the 'Abbāsīd courts. Both regarded 'Alī, the fourth Caliph, as the leader of their respective systems.

Shī'is recognised 'Alī as their first Imām and the rightful successor of the prophet Muḥammad, declaring the first three successors of Muḥammad to be usurpers. The Ṣūfis generally traced their *silsilas* from 'Alī down to their own times.²

The Ismā'īlī activities in twelfth and thirteenth century Persia had disturbed all Ṣūfis, including Najmu'd-Dīn Kubrā.³ But this had not made them unsympathetic to the Isna 'Asharī Shī'is who were not concerned with the political activities of the Ismā'īlīs. But Ṣūfis were generally hostile to some of the Isna 'Asharī Shī'ī activities, particularly those reviling the first three caliphs and the Prophet's wife 'Ā'isha.⁴ In Kashmīr, too, many Kubravī and Subrawardī saints made strenuous efforts to support the Sunnī cause, which the dominance of Shī'is in politics in the second half of the sixteenth century had undermined.

Range of Orthodox Ṣūfī and Rishī Activities

The ramifications of the orthodox mind assumed diverse forms. They were reflected in efforts to sustain the contour of the structure of doctrinal Islam. Such activities ranged from building mosques, constructing educational institutions, attitudes of respect and patronage for learned divines to systematic inculcation of the virtues, norms and observances of Islam.

The Rishīs' inspiration, on the other hand, was almost wholly popular. They preached love of mankind, and did not

1. See *infra*, p. 215 ff.

2. Cf. Molé, *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, XXIX, 1961, p. 72; *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Shorter), p. 582.

3. See Molé, *op. cit.*, for Shī'ī leanings among some leading Kubravīya saints.

4. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 103-4.

concern themselves with Islamic missionary activities or the establishment of *madrasas*, and kept themselves aloof from the ruling classes. In fact, whether consciously or unconsciously, they stressed values associated with the liberal and generous attitudes of Rūmī. They added elements such as the mortification of the individual soul and hard ascetic exercises borrowed from the Yogis, coupled with hatred of worldly life. They did not claim any Sufic ancestry and did not hesitate to borrow the ideas and practices of the Hindu ascetics, especially those of the Saivites of Kashmir, with their emphasis on individual salvation and indifference to the fate of others.

The mystical ideas represented in the sayings and practices of the Rishīs make a significant study. From the whole mass of their sayings and practices emanate notions that are characteristically familiar ones in the corresponding local framework. There is a clear attempt by the Rishīs to introduce locally known mystical techniques and formulas.

THE ADVENT OF ISLAM IN KASHMĪR

Long before the first Muslim Sultanate, known as the Shāh Mīr dynasty, was established in Kashmīr, Muslims had settled there. The process started as early as the eighth century¹ and was accelerated after the Shāh Mīr dynasty was established in 1339.²

However, the Muslim invaders, first Arabs and then Turks, on many occasions, invaded Kashmīr but failed to conquer it. In 713, when Muḥammad bin Qāsīm, the Arab general, occupied Multān he marched against "the frontiers of Kashmīr, called Panj Nahiyat."³ But the threat to Kashmīr was removed for the time being as Muḥammad was recalled by the Caliph Walīd I (705-715) to his court.⁴

Later Hishām bin Amru'l-Taghlībī, the Arab governor of Sind, some time after 140/757-58,⁵ made an attempt to conquer the Valley of Kashmīr.⁶ But thanks to the protection offered by the mountain ramparts to that country, he failed to penetrate into the Valley.⁷

1. Cf. 'Āli bin Ḥamīd Kūfī, *Chāch-Nāmā*, Eng. tr. K. Mirzā, p. 160.

2. See *infra*, pp. 12 ff..

3. *Chāch-Nāmā*, p. 192.

In some copies it is "Panj Māhiyat" (cf. *Chāch-Nāmā*, Eng. tr. H.M. Elliot, *History of India*, I, p. 144), which according to Elliot is situated near the upper course of the river Jehlum, just after it debouches into the plains. *Ibid.*; I, p. 144, n. 3.

4. Cf. *Chāch-Nāmā*, pp. 193-4.

5. Cf. Elliot, *op. cit.*, I, p. 444.

6. Balāzurī, *Futūḥu'l Buldān*, pp. 445-6.

7. The Arab historian Balāzurī (*op. cit.*, p. 446), however, claims that Hishām conquered the Valley. But this is supported by none of the Kashmīri sources. There is no other evidence that an Arab army ever entered Kashmīr. What seems correct is that Hishām conquered the upper plains which frequently were attached to the Kingdom of Kashmīr.

Although the mountains proved barriers to would-be conquerors, they did not prevent adventurers and refugees from entering Kashmir. 'Alī ibn Ḥamīd Kūfī, for example, states that Muḥammad Alāfī, an Arab mercenary who had served Dāhir¹ (d. 712), sought refuge in Kashmir.² The ruler of Kashmir Candrāpīḍa, received him well and bestowed on him the territory of Shakalbār.³ After Alāfī's death, his estate was inherited by one Jehm, who, according to Kūfī, built many mosques there;⁴ this means that a sizeable number of Muslims had by that time migrated to Kashmir.

In the early eleventh century, when the Turks invaded India, the Hindu rule of Kāshmir was once again threatened, by the Muslim invader Maḥmūd of Ghaznī (998-1030). Maḥmūd on two occasions, in 1014 and 1016, invaded Kashmir, but his efforts to penetrate into the Valley were defied by the strong fortresses of Loharkot⁵ and a timely snowfall.⁶

However, according to the statement of Abū'l-fazl Baihaqī,⁷ Maḥmūd while in pursuit of Narojaipāl (Trilocanpāl), who had received military assistance from Saṃgrāmīāja, the ruler of Kashmir (1003-1028), plundered one of the valleys

1. *Chāch-Nāmā*, pp. 55-6.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 160.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 160.

Shakalbār or 'Shakalba' (cf. Elliot, op. cit., I, p. 178), is identified by Cunningham with "Kuller-Kahar" in the Salt range, which at that time belonged to Kashmir. Cf. *Archaeological Survey of India*, II, p. 192 and V, pp. 79-85.

4. *Chāch-Nāmā*, p. 169.

5. Loharkot or 'Lohkot' (cf. Abū'l-Fazl, *Tārīkh-i-Baihaqī*, I, p. 270), is according to Stein (cf. *R.Tk.*, II, pp. 299), in the modern Loharin (in the Punch Valley). Through Loharin the path leads to Tosmaidān pass, which since earlier times had formed one of the most-frequented routes from the western Punjāb to Kashmir.

6. *Tārīkh-i-Baihaqī*, I, pp. 270, 350-1.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *R.Tk.*, Eng. tr. M.A. Stein, I, pp. 270-1. See also *Tārīkh-i-Baihaqī*, I, p. 270,

to the south of Kashmīr¹ and converted a large number of people there to Islam.

Kalhaṇa, the author of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, who has also described this invasion of Maḥmūd, does not speak of any conversion. But from the interest which Maḥmūd exhibited in having non-Muslims converted to Islam, the statement of Baihaqī, although probably an exaggeration, should not be taken as entirely untrue.

It is also likely that, finding it difficult to cross the mountains to the plains of India, some of the soldiers of Maḥmūd might have stayed behind and settled in Kashmīr.² As it is after these Turkic invasions that Kalhaṇa for the first time, in describing the reign of Harṣa (1089-1111) refers to the presence of Turkic Muslim soldiers in Kashmīr.³

Later we find that Bhiksācara (1120-1121) employed Turkic mercenaries to fight against Sussala,⁴ whom he had earlier dethroned.⁵ Likewise Jayasinha (1128-1149) used Muslim soldiers to crush rebellious chiefs.⁶

From the accounts of Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller, it appears that by the end of the thirteenth century there was a colony of Muslims in Kashmīr. He says:

The people of the province [Kashmīr] do not kill animals nor spill blood; so if they want to eat meat they get the Saracens who dwell among them to play the butcher.⁷

1. Stein identifies this place with "Tōḥī" in Punch, near the border of present Kashmīr Valley. Cf. *R.Tk.*, I, p. 271n.

2. In 1016, after his second fruitless attempt to enter the Valley, Maḥmūd lost his way for some days on the return journey to Ghaznā because of a heavy snowfall. Many of his soldiers lost their lives in the blizzard and he himself had a narrow escape from death; cf. *Tārīkh-i-Baihaqī*, I, pp. 350-1.

3. Cf. *R.Tk.*, I, p. 357.

4. *Ibid.*, II, p. 70.

5. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 68-9.

6. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 174-5.

7. H. Yule, *Travels of Marco Polo*, I, p. 167.

The Hindu rulers of Kashmīr seem to have been munificent and hospitable to these Muslim soldiers of fortune,¹ who continued pouring into Kashmīr down to the establishment of Muslim rule there. It was one of these adventurers, Shāh Mīr, who established the first Muslim Sultanate in Kashmīr.

The Kashmīrī and the Mughal historians recount different legends about the ancestry of Shāh Mīr. According to Jonarāja, Shāh Mīr was the descendant of Pārtha² (Arjuna) of Mahābhārata fame. Abū'l-faẓl, Nizāmu'd-Dīn and Firishta also state that Shāh Mīr traced his descendant to Arjuna.³ The basis of their account is Jonarāja's *Rājatarangīnī*, which was translated into Persian by Mullā'Abdu'l Qādir Badāūnī, at Akbar's orders.⁴

It is likely that either Jonarāja, in order to glorify the family of his patron (Sultān Zainu'l-Ābidīn, a lineal descendant of Shāh Mīr) or Shāh Mīr after coming to the throne, worked out an apocryphal genealogy connecting himself with the legendary heroes of the past. This was a common practice with rulers and dignitaries of those days. Even Sultān Ghiyāsu d-Dīn Balban (1266-1286) claimed to have descended from the Sāsānid rulers of Persia.

According to some Persian chronicles of Kashmīr, Shāh-Mīr was a descendant of the rulers of Swāt.⁵ It is most probable that Shāh Mīr's ancestors were of Turkic or Persian

1. Cf. *R. Tk.*, I, p. 357.

2. Muḥibbu'l-Ḥasan wrongly says that Jonarāja is silent on Shāh Mīr's ancestry (*Sultāns*, p. 43, n. 1). Jonarāja gives Shāh Mīr's ancestry as follows :

Pārtha, his son Babhruvāhana, his scion Kurashāha (probably Khwūr Shāh), his son Taharāla (Tāhir) his son Shāh Mīr. *R. Tj.*, Eng. tr., J.C. Dutt, (*Kings of Kashmīra*, p. 15.

3. *A.A.*, II, p. 184; *T.A.*, Eng. tr. Brajendranath, III, pt. II, p. 633; *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, II, p. 337.

Nizāmu'd-Dīn and Firishta give Shāh Mīr's ancestry as : Shāh Mīr, son of Tāhir Āl, son of Karshāshāb son of Nēkrūz 'who was a descendant of Arjuna.

4. Cf. Badāūnī. *Muntakhabu'l-Tawārīkh*, pp. 401-402.

5. *B.S.*, f. 9b; *T. Km.*, f. 91b; *N.A.*, f. 31b; *T.Az.*, p. 27.

origin and had migrated to Swāt, where they enjoyed political power for some time.

Shāh Mīr arrived in Kashmīr in 1313, along with his family, during the reign of Sūhadeva (1301-1320), in whose service he entered.¹ Sūhadeva granted him the village of Davar-kunail, in the district of Bārāmūla,² for his maintenance.³ In subsequent years, by his tact and ability, Shāh Mīr rose to prominence and became one of the important personalities of the time.⁴ After the death of Udayanadeva, the brother of Sūhadeva, he was able to assume the kingship himself and thus laid the foundation of permanent Muslim rule in Kashmīr.

Dissensions among the ruling classes and foreign invasions were the two main factors which contributed towards the establishment of Muslim rule in Kashmīr. Because of the long period of weak reigns and internal troubles the *Lavanyas* and *Dāmaras* (the local chiefs) had become the most powerful element in the Valley.⁵ The strongholds of the lands of Kashmīr had become hereditary possessions in the families of these chiefs.⁶ They continually rose in rebellion and prevented the growth of a strong centralized government.⁷

Sūhadeva, who came to the throne in 1301, seems to have played these chiefs one against the other and thereby was

1. *R. Tj.*, p. 15; *B.S.*, f. 9b; *T. Az.*, p. 27; *T.H.*, Urdu, tr. M. Ibrāhīm, II, p. 143.

2. *B.S.*, f. 10a.

It is not possible to identify the village Davar-Kunail. But Bārāmūla, the ancient "Varāhmūla" however is thirty-four miles to the west of Srinagar.

3. *B.S.*, f. 10a. See also *R. Tj.*, p. 15.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

5. Cf. *R. Tk.*, II, pp. 304ff., for the growth and activities of this class of people in Kashmīr.

6. Long before we find that Lalitāditya (early 8th century) had warned his successors not to leave enough land with these chiefs and to punish them even if they would give no offence. For, if they should keep more wealth, they would become within no time formidable and strong enough to disobey the king; cf. *R. Tk.*, p. 154.

7. Cf. *R. Tj.*, pp. 5-15.

able to establish his authority over the whole of Kashmir.¹ But at the same time he alienated the Brahmans, the traditional official class, by imposing taxes on them.²

Meanwhile in 1320, Zuljū³ or Zulqadr Khān,⁴ at the head of a large army invaded Kashmir. The sources are not unanimous about the origin of Zuljū. According to Jonarāja he was a "commander of the army of the great King Karmmasena."⁵ It is not possible to identify the King Karmmasena. Elsewhere, however, Jonarāja calls Zuljū "the king of the mlechchhas"⁶ which means he was a Muslim.⁷

Abū'l-Fazl is of the opinion that Zuljū was the "chief commander" of the ruler of Qandahār,⁸ whereas Nizāmu'd-Dīn and Firishta call him the *Mīr-Bakhsh* (pay-master general) of Qandahār.⁹

Qandahār, at this time, was in the possession of the Kurt ruler Ghiyāsu'd-Dīn, who was himself a tributary to the Ilkhāns of Persia.¹⁰ It is unlikely that he would have sent an army to Kashmir, as he was himself by this time threatened by the invasion of prince Yasūr.¹¹

1. Cf. *R. Tj.*, p. 15.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

3. *B.S.*, f. 106; *T. Km*, f. 77b; *T. Kh.*, f. 92b; *N.A.*, f. 14a; *T. Kk.*, f. 79a. Jonarāja calls him "Dalcha" (*R. Tj.*, p. 16) and Abū'l-Fazl, Nizāmu'd-Dīn and Firishta call him "Diljū"; *A.A.*, II, p. 184; *T.A.*, III, pt. II, p. 637; *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, II, p. 338.

4. *T. Ka.*, f. 55a; *T. Az.*, p. 27; *G.A.*, f. 99a; *T.H.*, II, p. 144.

5. *R. Tj.*, p. 16.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

7. Muḥibbu'l-Hasan, while accepting that Zuljū was a Mongol, rejects that he was a Muslim on the grounds that by that time only a few of the Mongols had accepted Islam (*Sultāns*, p. 34). But in fact by that time many Mongols including Ilkhān Tegūdar, Naurūz and Ghazān Khān along with his court had accepted Islam. Even if only a few of the Mongols had accepted Islam by that time, that does not mean that Zuljū was not a Muslim.

8. *A.A.*, II, p. 184.

9. *T.A.*, III, pt. II, p. 637; *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, II, p. 346.

10. Cf. H. Howorth, *History of Mongols*, III, p. 569.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 590-1.

The Persian chronicles of Kashmīr assert that Zuljū was a Mongol from Turkistān.¹ This view seems to be correct. The Mongols not only repeatedly invaded Kashmīr, previous to this time, but if we believe Rashīdu'd-Dīn, they even succeeded in temporarily subjugating the country.²

The chiefs did not come to the aid of Sūhadeva, and he was left alone to face the invader. He tried to save his kingdom by paying a large sum of money to the Mongols, to withdraw from the country.³ But this had the contrary effect of increasing Zuljū's appetite for loot and plunder. Sūhadeva himself fled to Kishtwār,⁴ leaving the people at the mercy of the invader.⁵

The Mongols flogged, plundered and enslaved the people, burnt down buildings and destroyed crops.⁶ After a stay of eight months,⁷ Zuljū left the Valley through Banihāl pass,⁸ where he perished along with his prisoners in a heavy snow-fall.⁹ Famine was the natural consequence of the wholesale destruction of the stores of grain and of standing crops by the invading army.¹⁰

Zuljū's invasion proved a turning point in the history of Kashmīr and contributed towards the establishment of Muslim rule there; for Rinchana rose to power in its aftermath. He

1. *B.S.*, f. 10b; *T. Km.*, f. 77b; *T. Kh.*, ff. 92b-93a; *N.A.*, f. 14a; *T. Kk.*, f. 79a.

2. *Tārikhu'l-Hind*, p. 22. See also Howorth, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 184-5.

3. *R. Tj.*, p. 16.

4. The ancient "Kasthavata" is to the south-east of Kashmīr.

5. *B.S.*, f. 11a; *T. Kh.*, f. 93a; *T. Ka.*, f. 55a; *N.A.* f. 14b; *T. Az.*, p. 27; *G.A.*, f. 99b; *T. Kk.*, f. 79a-b; *T.H.*, II, p. 144.

6. *R. Tj.*, p. 17; *B.S.*, f. 11a; *T. Kh.*, f. 55a-b; *N.A.*, ff. 14b-15a; *T. Az.*, pp. 27-8; *T. Kk.*, f. 80a; *H.T.*, II, p. 144.

7. *B.S.*, f. 11b.

8. 9,200 ft. above the sea. This is the lowest depression in the chain of mountains which surround Kashmīr on the south.

9. *B.S.*, f. 11b-12a; *T.Kh.*, f. 94a; *N.A.*, f. 15b; *T.Az.*, p. 28; *T. Kk.*, f. 80a; *T.H.*, II, pp. 144-5.

10. *R. Tj.*, p. 17; *B.S.*, f. 11b.

was originally from Ladākh¹ were his father had been chief until he was killed by his enemies.² Rinchana, also fearing an attack on his life, sought refuge in Kashmīr.³ There he was employed by Rāmchandra,⁴ Sūhadev's commander-in-chief,⁵ who had shut himself up in the fort of Lār⁶ during Zuljū's invasion.⁷ After Zuljū's departure, Rāmchandra tried to establish his own authority,⁸ but Rinchana treacherously had him murdered and his family imprisoned and seized power himself.⁹ Later he freed Rāwanchandra and Koṭā Rānī, the son and daughter of Rāmchandra, and bestowed the territory of Lār on Rāwanchandra and himself married Koṭā Rānī.¹⁰

The elevation of Rinchana from the position of a refugee to that of a sovereign clearly shows the anarchy and discord which prevailed in Kashmīr at that time. Rinchana, however, proved an able ruler and restored peace and prosperity to the country.¹¹

The most important event of his reign was his conversion to Islam which is variously recorded. According to Jona-rāja, Rinchana wanted to become a Hindu, but the Brahman Devasvāmī refused to initiate him into Hinduism, on the

1. *R. Tj.*, p. 16; *B.S.*, f. 10b; *T. Km.*, f. 77b; *T. Kh.*, f. 96a; *A.Ab.*, f. 50a-b; *T.Ka.*, f. 55a; *N.A.*, f. 14a; *T. Kk.*, f. 80a; *G.A.*, f. 101b.
2. *R. Tj.*, p. 16; *T. Ka.*, f. 55a.
3. *R. Tj.*, pp. 16-7; *B.S.*, f. 10b; *T.Km.*, f. 77b; *T. Kh.*, f. 96a; *A.Ab.*, f. 50b; *T.Ka.*, f. 55a; *N.A.*, f. 14a; *G.A.*, f. 101b.
4. *B.S.*, f. 10b; *T. Km.*, f. 77b; *T. Ka.*, f. 55a; *N.A.*, f. 14a; *T.H.*, II, p. 45.
5. *R. Tj.*, p. 18; *B.S.*, f. 9b; *T. Az.*, p. 27.
6. Lār is the ancient "Lahara". The route to Ladākh and thence to Central Asia passes through this district which comprises the whole of the valley drained by the river Sind and its tributaries. Cf. *R. Tk.*, II, pp. 17-8.
7. *T. Az.*, p. 27. See also *R. Tj.*, p. 18.
8. *B.S.*, f. 12a; *T. Km.*, f. 79b; *T. Kh.*, f. 92b; see also *R. Tj.*, pp. 17-8.
9. *R. Tj.*, p. 18; *B.S.*, ff. 12b-13a; *T.Km.*, f. 80a-b; *T. Kh.*, f. 96a; *T.Ka.*, f. 56a; *N.A.*, f. 15b; *T. Az.*, p. 28; *G.A.*, f. 101. a b; *T. Kk.*, f. 80a; *T.H.*, II, p. 146.
10. *Ibid.*
11. Cf. *R. Tj.*, p. 21.

grounds that he was a "Bhotta" (Tibetan Buddhist).¹

The story seems to have been invented by Jonarāja out of bitterness that Rinchana had accepted Islam. In fact if Rinchana wished to become a Hindu, there should have been no difficulty for him, especially when he was a king. Even if Devasvāmī had refused to initiate Rinchana into Hinduism, he could have asked some other Brahman to do so. Long before Rinchana, Mihirakula of the white Hun stock is said to have been converted to Hinduism in Kashmir.² Moreover, conversion from Buddhism to Hinduism or vice versa was not a new thing.

According to a popular version of the story, supported by most of the medieval Muslim scholars of Kashmir Rinchana had accepted Islam because of "Divine grace."³ It is said that after Rinchana came to the throne, he held discussions with both Hindu and Buddhist priests, in order to ascertain the "Truth", but none could satisfy him. Finally, he decided to accept the religion of the first person whom he should see the next morning. That person was Saiyid Sharafu'd-Dīn, a Suhrawardī saint,⁴ who at that time was offering prayers near the royal palace. Rinchana immediately went to him, and after enquiring about his religion, accepted Islam.⁵

On the face of it, the story appears to have been concocted in order to glorify Islam and to establish the miraculous powers of Saiyid Sharafu'd-Dīn. It seems unconvincing that Rinchana, with his inquisitive mind, should have accepted Islam in this way.

What seems more probable is that Rinchana's conversion to Islam was prompted by political reasons. In the absence of

1. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

2. *R. Tk.*, I, pp. 46-7.

3. *B.S.*, f. 15a; *T. Km.*, f. 83a; *A.Ab.*, f. 45a; *N.A.*, f. 16b; *T. Az.*, p. 29; *T.H.* III, p. 4; *T.K.*, p. 6.

4. See for his biography *infra*, ch. II.

5. *B.S.*, f. 15a-b; *T. Km.*, f. 83a-b; *T. Kh.*, ff. 99a-100b; *A.Ab.*, f. 45a; *N.A.*, ff. 16b-17a; *T. Az.*, pp. 29-30. *Hasan* and *Miskin* do not refer to the discussion which Rinchana is said to have held with Hindu and Buddhist priests.

co-operation from the Hindus, support for Rinchana's newly acquired kingdom could be had only from the Muslims in Kashmīr. It is not, therefore, unlikely that Shāh Mīr, who in Jonarāja's words was : "a lion among men,"¹ persuaded Rinchana to accept Islam. Abū'l Fazl, the Mughal historian, who made a careful study of the history of Kashmīr, confirms the fact that Rinchana accepted Islam because of his deep intimacy and association with Shāh Mīr, whom he appointed him minister.²

The penetration of Islam into the neighbouring countries of Kashmīr,³ especially the re-establishment of Islam in Persia by Ghāzān Khān in 1245,⁴ which was followed by the persecution of Buddhists and other non-Muslims,⁵ might have also influenced Rinchana's decision to embrace Islam, particularly when Kashmīr had so recently been invaded by the Mongols.⁶

Thus Rinchana's conversion to Islam must be seen in the wider context, and not just as the result of either the Hindu refusal to take him into their fold⁵ or of a chance meeting with Saiyid Sharafu'd-Dīn.⁶

Rinchana or Ṣadru'd-Dīn, the Muslim name which he adopted, died in 1323,⁷ and soon after his death Hindu rule was once again established in Kashmīr. His son Haidar,

1. *R. Tj.*, p. 27.

2. *A.A.*, II, p. 184.

3. In India Muslim rule had been firmly established some thirty years before Rinchana's accession to the throne by Shihābu'd Dīn Muḥammad Ghori. Kābul had been subdued (some time between 786 and 813), during Ma'mūnu'l-Rashīd's governorship of Khurāsān and its ruler had later accepted Islam; *Futūḥu'l-Buldān*, p. 402.

4. Rāshīdu'd-Dīn, *Jāmiu'l-Tawārikh*, II, pp. 900ff.

5. Cf. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 933-4; *Tārikh-i-Mubārak-i-Ghāzānī*, pp. 168-9.

6. See supra, pp. 7-8.

7. Some modern scholars accept the view of Jonarāja that Rinchana was not accepted by Hindus into their fold. Cf. Walter, "Islam in Kashmīr", *Muslim World*, IV, 1914, p. 340; Srikanth Kaul, *Rājatarāṅgiṇī of Jonarāja*, Introduction, p. 72.

8. Cf. Muḥibbu'l-Hasan, *Sultans*, p. 39.

9. Cf. *R. Tj.*, p. 23.

who was a minor,¹ was not declared the king,² instead Koṭā Rānī with the consent of Shāh Mīr³ recalled Udayanadeva, the brother of Sūhadeva, and made him king.⁴ Udayanadeva eventually married Koṭā Rānī⁵ and in order to please Shāh Mīr he bestowed the territory of Kramarājya⁶ and other districts on the latter's two sons 'Alī Sher and Jamshed.⁷

According to Jonarāja, royalty was debased when it passed from Rinchana to Udayanadeva.⁸ Udayanadeva did not prove himself a competent ruler. He spent most of his time "in bathing, in penance, and in prayer,"⁹ and paid very little attention to the administration.¹⁰

Meanwhile Kashmīr was once again threatened by a foreign invasion. According to Jonarāja the invader was "Achala",¹¹ whom "the lord of Mugdhapura" supported.¹² It is not possible to identify the latter. The Persian chronicles assert that it was an army of the Turks (*lashkar-i-turk*).¹³ Modern scholars¹⁴ have not identified the Turks of Persian chronicles, but it seems that they were Mongols who had

1. *Ibid.*, p. 23; *B.S.*, f. 16a.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 23-4; *Ibid.*, f. 16b.

3. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 24; *Ibid.*, f. 16b.

4. He had fled to Swāt during Zuljū's invasion. *B.S.*, f. 16b.

5. *R. Tj.*, p. 24; *B.S.*, f. 16b.

6. *R. Tj.*, p. 24; *B.S.*, f. 16b.

7. The Valley of Kashmīr has from early times been divided into two great parts—"Kramarājya" and "Maḍavarājya" (cf. *R. Tk.*, II, p. 436). "Kramarājya" the modern Kamāz is that part which is to the west and south-west of Srinagar.

8. *R. Tj.*, p. 24.

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.*

11. *Ibid.*, p. 25. Persian chronicles call him "Urdil" or "Urwin". *T. Kh.*, f. 89b; *T. Ka.*, f. 58b; *T. Az.*, p. 32; *G.A.*, f. 107b; *T.H.*, II, p. 150.

12. *R. Tj.*, p. 25.

13. *B.S.*, f. 17a; *T. Kh.*, f. 89b; *T. Ka.*, f. 58b; *T. Az.*, p. 32; *G.A.*, f. 107; *T.H.*, II, p. 15.

14. Cf. Sūfī. *Kashīr*, I, p. 128; Muḥibbu'l-Ḥasan. *Sulṭāns*, p. 41.

previously invaded the Valley more than once.¹

However, Udayanadeva fled to Ladākh, leaving Koṭā Rānī to face the invader.² With the help of Shāh Mīr and Bhikshṇa,³ a Hindu noble, she repulsed the enemy.⁴ After the enemy withdrew, Udayanadeva returned and regained the throne, but his cowardly flight had greatly impaired his prestige.⁵

His relations with Shāh Mīr also did not remain cordial.⁶ Udayanadeva began to suspect the loyalty of Shāh Mīr, who because of the heroic stand against the invader, had become exceedingly popular with the people.⁷ This had made him politically ambitious⁸ and, as Jonarāja says, he "did not deem the king even as grass."⁹

Shāh Mīr, in order to strengthen his position, had already taken steps to win over the leading chiefs of the country to his side. He bestowed on them his daughter and grand-daughters in marriage,¹⁰ and made large gifts to them.¹¹

1. Cf. *Tārīkh u'l-Hind*, p. 22. See also Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, III, pp. 184-5.

2. *R. Tj.*, p. 25; *B.S.*, f. 17a; *T. Ka.*, f. 53b; *G.A.*, f. 107b.

3. The Persian chronicles call him "Pacha Baṭ Kākapūri".

4. *B.S.*, f. 17a; *T. Kh.*, ff. 84b-85a; *T. Ka.*, f. 56b; *N.A.*, f. 20b; *T. Az.*, p. 32; *G.A.*, f. 107b; *T.H.*, II. p. 150.

Jonarāja gives contradictory statements. At one place he says that "Achala" sent his army back as Koṭā Rānī and others promised him that after doing so, he would be declared the king, but was later imprisoned; (*R. mj.*, p. 25). Later he states that "Achala", like "Dalcha" (Zuljū), devastated the whole country. *R. Tj.*, p. 26.

5. *R. Tj.*, p. 25, *B.S.*, f. 17a; *T. Ka.*, f. 58b; *C.A.*, f. 107b.

6. Cf. *R. Tj.*, p. 26.

7. Cf. *R. Tj.*, p. 25; *B.S.*, f. 17a; *T. Ka.*, f. 58b; *G.A.*, f. 107b.

8. Cf. *R. Tj.*, p. 27.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

10. Shāh Mīr had married his own daughter ("Guhava") to Koṭarāja of "Baringa" (probably the modern village of Breng in the district of Anantnāg), and the daughter of his son 'Alī Sher and that of Jamshed were given in marriage to Lusta, the chieftain of "Sankarapura" (modern Patan, in the district of Bārāmūla; cf. *R. Tk.*, I, p. 206n), and Telak, the chieftain of "Bangila" (modern Bangil in Sopur), respectively; cf. *R. Tj.*, pp. 26-7. See also *B.S.*, f. 16b.

11. *R. Tj.*, p. 22.

Thus he was waiting for an opportunity to assume the kingship himself.

The opportunity came soon, when Koṭā Rānī, after the death of Udayanadeva in 1338, took the reins of government in her own hands.¹ Realising how ambitious Shāh Mīr was,² she raised Bhikshaṇa to prominence as a counterpoise to him,³ and transferred the capital from Srinagar, where Shāh Mīr had considerable following, to Andarkot.⁴

The rise of Bhikshaṇa to power was an open challenge to Shāh Mīr. However, he did not make his feelings public,⁵ but feigned illness, and "caused it to be known that his end was near."⁶ Koṭā Rānī sent Bhikshaṇa, apparently, to see Shāh Mīr,⁷ but in fact to find out the real facts. Shāh Mīr took the advantage of the opportunity and removed his political rival by assassinating him in his own house.⁸

Later Shāh Mīr sent a proposal of marriage to Koṭā Rānī. She rejected it,⁹ perhaps thinking it beneath her dignity to marry a man who had been in her service. Shāh Mīr then, with the help of the chiefs, successfully besieged the fort of Andarkot. Koṭā Rānī surrendered and accepted Shāh Mīr's marriage proposal.¹⁰

Shāh Mīr suspected her loyalty, as she had married him

1. *R. Tj.*, p. 28; *B.S.*, f. 17a-b.

2. According to Jonarāja, Koṭā Rānī out of fear of Shāh Mīr had even concealed the death of her husband for four days; *R. Tj.*, p. 28.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*, p. 31; *B.S.*, f. 17b.

Andarkot is seventeen miles north of Srinagar, on the left bank of the river Jehlum.

5. "Fire manifests itself by heat and smoke," writes Jonarāja, "but no sign of anger manifested itself in that wise man [Shāh Mīr]". *R. Tj.*, p. 29.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

7. *R. Tj.*, p. 29.

8. *Ibid.* See also *B.S.*, f. 17b.

9. *R. Tj.*, p. 31; *B.S.*, f. 17b.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 31-2; *Ibid.*, f. 17b.

under pressure. He therefore imprisoned her¹ and ascended the throne himself in 1339,² under the title of Sulṭān Shamsu'd-Din.³

Shāh Mīr's coup firmly established the Muslim rule in Kashmir. The details of the administrative machinery created by Shāh Mīr are not known. What Jonarāja says of his reign is that he "assuaged the troubles of Kashmir and changed its condition."⁴

Revolutionary changes in the administration were not possible at that time. The Muslim community of Kashmir was in a minority, with no foreign contact or foreign support. The power remained as before in the hands of the Hindu chiefs, with whose help Shāh Mīr had established himself on the throne.

However, Shāh Mīr, in order to increase the number of his supporters and to check the ambitious chiefs, who were the main cause of confusion and disorder in the regimes proceeding him, patronised⁵ the families of the Chaks⁶ and Magres who were of indigenous origin.⁷ Jonarāja says that Shāh Mīr made gifts to certain chiefs.⁸ It seems that Shāh Mīr assigned *iqṭā's*⁹ to his supporters on the pattern of the Turkic Sulṭāns of Delhi.

1. *R. Tj.*, p. 432.

2. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 32. Abū'l-Fazl gives Shāh Mīr's date of accession as 742/1341-2 A.A., II, p. 185.

3. *R. Tj.*, p. 32; *B.S.*, f. 18a; *T. Az.*, p. 33.

4. *R. Tj.*, p. 32.

5. *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, II, p. 338; *T.H.*, II, p. 151.

6. The Chaks, under their leader Lankar Thak, had migrated to Kashmir from Dardistān during the reign of Sūhadeva. *B.S.*, f. 10a-b; *N.A.*, f. 22b; *T.H.*, II, p. 143.

7. Cf. *T. Ks.*, ff. 7a-b; 8b. See also, W.R. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 306.

8. *R. Tj.*, p. 22.

9. The system of *iqṭā's* emerged in the 10th century and crystallized by the time of the Saljūqs. Nizāmu'l-Mulk, in his *Siyāsāt-Nāmā*, gives a detailed description of the *iqṭā's*. They were probably of two types, the military *iqṭā's* were only the assignment of the revenue and not

[contd. on next page]

The administration was modelled on the system prevalent in other Muslim countries, only after a large number of Muslim saints and scholars from Persia and Central Asia had migrated to Kashmir. There were men of talent among them who could rule the government on the lines of the Saljūqī Sultāns of Persia and the Trukic Sulṭāns of Delhi.

[contd. from previous page]

of the proprietary rights or administrative powers. In return, the holders of such *iqṭā's* were required to recruit the army, which was to be paid from the revenue realised from the *iqṭā's*, for the military need of the country. See for full details, J.A. Boyle, *The Cambridge History of Irān*, V, pp. 81-4, 198-9, 231-9, 518-21.

CHAPTER II

THE SUHRAWARDĪ ORDER

Among the well known Ṣūfī orders the first to be introduced in Kashmīr, in the early fourteenth century, was the Suhrawardīya order. It was originally founded by Shaikh Ziyā'u'd-Dīn Abū'l-Suhrawardī (d. 1167), the author of the *Ādābū'l-Murīdīn*.¹ It was, however, his nephew and successor, Shaikh Shihābu'd-Dīn Abū Hafṣ 'Umar bin Abdu'llāh (1144-1234), who made the order popular. He was an outstanding scholar; of his works² the most celebrated is the '*Awārifu'l-Ma'arīf*,'³ which like the *Kashfu'l-Maḥjūb* of Hujwērī, served as a manual to the Indian Sūfis for many centuries.

One of the lesser known disciples of Shaikh Shihābu'd-Dīn was Shāh Ni'matu'llāh Fārsī,⁴ who in his turn initiated Saiyid Sharafu'd-Dīn⁵ into Suhrawardī order.⁶ Saiyid Sharf-

1. *NU.*, p. 269.

2. His other works include *Kashfu'l-Naṣā'iḥ al-Imāniya wa Kashfu'l Fāzā'iḥ al-Yūnāniya*, which has been directed against the study of Greek philosophy. Cf. *Encyclopædia of Islam*, IV, p. 506.

3. It was first published at Cairo in 1888 on the margin of *Iḥya* of Ghazālī.

4. Scholars such as Jāmī and Muḥammad Amīn Rāzī give no account of Ni'matu'llāh. Only the Kashmīrī scholars mention him in their works. See below, no. 5.

5. *N.A.*, f. 17a; *G.A.*, f. 101a; *T.H.*, III, p. 4; *T.K.*, p. 4. The author of *B.S.*, and Hasan bin 'Alī and A'Zamī call him Bābā Bulbul (f. 15a; *T.Kh.*, f. 100a; *T.Az.*, p. 301). *Mishkāṭī* calls him Saiyid Abdu'l-Raḥmān and Kachrū, *Khalil Shāh*; *A.Ab.*, f. 44a; *T.Kk.*, f. 81a.

6. *B.S.*, f. 15a-b; *N.A.*, f. 17a; *T.Az.*, p. 30, *G.A.*, f. 101b. *Mishkāṭī* and Hasan assert that Saiyid Sharafu'd-Dīn was a direct disciple of Shaikh Shihābu'd-Dīn Suhrawardī (*A.Ab.*, f. 44a; *T.H.*, III, p. 4). This seems unlikely as there is a difference of almost one hundred years between the death of the Shaikh and that of the Saiyid.

fu'd-Dīn was the first to introduce Suhrawardī order into Kashmīr. He was originally from Turkistān,¹ but, as directed by his preceptor,² he embarked upon a long journey and travelling through Central Asia and Persia he arrived in Kashmīr during the reign of Sūhadeva.³

Saiyid Sharafu'd-Dīn is one of the most celebrated saints of Kashmīr, where he is known as Bulbul Shāh. He is greatly remembered there for having converted Rinchana⁴ and his brother-in-law, Rāwanchandra,⁵ to Islam. Rinchana seems to have held him in great esteem. He not only granted the revenues of certain villages⁶ to Bulbul Shāh for his maintenance, but also built a *Khānqāh* for him near his own palace.⁷ A *langar* (alms-house) also appears to have been attached to the *Khānqāh*. Bulbul Shāh died in 727/1326 and was buried in his *khānqāh*⁸, now called Bulbul-Langar, in Srinagar.

With the death of Bulbul Shāh the Suhrawardī order appears to have declined in Kashmīr. None of the sources record anything about his disciples. The silence of the sources does not, however, necessarily mean that the *Khānqāh* of Bulbul Shāh was neglected or deserted, though it seems that he left no disciple outstanding enough to be worth mentioning, and there may have been some decline in its activities.

It was during the reign of Sultān Zainu'l-Ābidīn (1420-70) that another Suhrawardī saint, Saiyid Muḥammad Isfa-

1. *A.Ab.*, f. 44a; *T.K.*, p. 6.
2. *G.A.*, f. 105a; *T.H.*, III, p. 4.
3. *A.Ab.*, f. 45a; *T.Az.*, p. 30; *T.H.*, III, p. 4.
4. See *supra*, Ch. I, pp. 9-10.
5. *B.S.*, f. a; *T.Km.*, f. 84a; *T.Kh.*, f. 102a; *A.Ab.*, f. 50a; *N.A.*, f. 17b; *T.Az.*, p. 30; *T.H.*, II, p. 149; *T.K.*, p. 7.
6. *B.S.*, f. 15b; *T.Kh.*, f. 101a; *N.A.*, f. 18a b; *T.Az.*, p. 30; *T.H.*, II, p. 149.
7. *B.S.*, f. 15b; *T.Kh.*, f. 101a; *A.Ab.*, f. 46b; *N.A.*, f. 18b; *T.Az.*, p. 30; *T.H.*, II, p. 149.
8. *A.Ab.*, f. 51a; *N.A.*, f. 19b; *T.H.*, III, p. 7; p. 7; *T.K.*, p. 7.

hānī,¹ arrived in Kashmīr.² The Sultān received him warmly and gave him a state grant for his maintenance.³

Saiyid Muḥammad was the disciple of Saiyid Jalālu'd-Dīn Bukhārī of Uch,⁴ popularly called Makhdūm Jahāniyān (1308-84).⁵ Unlike his preceptor, Saiyid Muḥammad preferred to live a life of retirement. He first took up residence in Sīnagar, but when his fame spread and people flocked around him to seek his blessings, he left the city and retired to the village of Khānpūr.⁶ He spent the rest of his life there, applying himself to the most austere spiritual exercises, and came to be known as *jānbāz*⁷ (one who stakes his life). Nothing is known about the date of his death or about his disciples.

The next Suhrawardī saint of some eminence was Saiyid Aḥmad Kirmānī. He was originally from Kirmān and before coming to Kashmīr had migrated to India,⁸ probably to Uch or Multān, where a large number of Suhrawardīs lived. Like Saiyid Muḥammad Isfahānī, he too belonged to the chain of

1. *T.Ks.*, f. 29a; *K.S.*, f. 13a; *F.K.*, f. 74b; *F.Q.*, f. 200b; *T.K.*, p. 37. Some authorities call him Saiyid Muḥammad Rifā'i; *A.Ab.*, f. 103a; *T.Az.*, p. 54; *T.H.*, III, p. 40.
2. *A. Ab.*, f. 103a; *T. Az.*, p. 54; *F.Q.*, f. 200b; *T.H.*, III, p. 40; *T.K.*, p. 37.
3. *Ibid.*, f. 103a-b; *ibid.*, p. 54; *ibid.*, f. 200b; *ibid.*, p. 40; *ibid.*, p. 37.
4. *K.S.*, f. 13a; *T.K.*, p. 37. According to Qādirī, Saiyid Muḥammad belonged to the Qādirī order (*F.Q.*, f. 200b). But for him every Muslim saint of Kashmīr was in one way or the other connected with this order.
5. Jalālu'd-Dīn Bukhārī was one of the prominent Suhrawardī saints of India. He led a very active life and served as *Shaikhu'l-Islam* for some time during the reign of Muḥammad Tughluq (1325-51); 'Abdu'l-Ḥaq. *Akḥbārul-Akhyār*, p. 142.
6. *A.Ab.*, f. 103b; *T. Az.*, p. 54; *F.Q.*, f. 201a; *T.H.*, III, p. 40; *T.K.*, p. 37. Khānpūr or Khāmpūr is in the modern district of Pārāmūla.
7. *T.Ks.*, f. 29a; *A.Ab.*, f. 103a; *T.Az.*, p. 54; *F.Q.*, f. 200b; *T.H.*, III, p. 40; *T.K.*, p. 37.
9. *K.S.*, f. 182a; *T.Az.*, p. 102; *T.H.*, III, p. 54; *T.K.*, p. 48.

teachers following Makhdūm Jahāniyān and was initiated into the order by one Saiyid Miyān.¹

Saiyid Aḥmad arrived in Kashmīr during the reign of Sultān Nāzuk Shāh,² who built a *khānqāh* for him at Narwur, in Srīnagar and assigned an annual grant from the state revenue for the maintenance of his *langar*.³

By this time the Shī'ī sect had been firmly established in Kashmīr.⁴ Saiyid Aḥmad plunged into discussion with the Shī'īs and made all possible efforts to denounce them and undermine their influence.⁵ After his death, Saiyid Aḥmad was buried near the tomb of Shaikh Bahāu'd-Dīn, in Srīnagar.⁶

Among his disciple is mentioned Bābā Mas'ūd, popularly known in Kashmīr as "Narwur Ṣāhib." He was originally a big merchant and was recognised as a *maliku't-tujjār*⁷ (lit. prince of merchants). After coming into contact with Saiyid Aḥmad, he gave up his worldly life and began to live like a Ṣūfī.⁸

Like his preceptor, Bābā Mas'ūd was an inveterate enemy of the Shī'īs. He is believed to have converted many Shī'īs to the Sunnī sect.⁹ When he died, he was buried in the *khānqāh* of his spiritual master, at Narwur in Srīnagar.¹⁰

1. *A. Ab.*, f. 186a. Mullā wrongly says that Saiyid Aḥmad was a direct disciple of Makhdūm Jahāniyān (*K.S.*, f. 182a), who died in 1384.
2. *T.H.*, III, p. 55; *T.K.*, p. 49. Nāzuk Shāh ruled twice (1529-30 and 1540-52). But the sources do not say during which reign of Nāzuk Shāh, Saiyid Aḥmad arrived in Kashmīr.
3. *T.H.*, III, p. 55; *T.K.*, p. 49.
4. See *infra*, Ch. VIII, pp. 289 ff.
5. Cf. *A. Ab.*, f. 186a-b; *T. Az.*, pp. 102-3; *T.H.*, III, pp. 54-5; *T.K.*, pp. 48-9. It is said that a prince who had fled from Kashmīr met Saiyid Aḥmad in India and asked for his prayers to help him gain his throne. Saiyid Aḥmad did pray for him, after receiving the prince's assurance that should he recover his throne he would abolish all "Shī'ī innovations."
6. *T. Az.*, p. 103; *T.H.*, III, p. 55; *T.K.*, p. 49.
7. *T.H.*, III, p. 245. See also *A. Ab.*, f. 192b.
8. *A. Ab.*, ff. 192b-193a; *T.H.*, III, p. 244.
9. *A. Ab.*, f. 193b.
10. *T.H.*, III, p. 245.

Another important Suhrawardī saint, whose chain of disciples in Kashmīr was destined to flourish for a long time, was Saiyid Jamālu'd-Dīn Bukhārī.¹ He was a disciple of Shaikh Ḥājī 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Dehlavi, who belonged to the Ṣūfī chain of Makhdūm Jahāniyān.²

Saiyid Jamālu'd-Dīn arrived in Kashmīr somewhere in the first half of the sixteenth century, and took up his residence in the *khānqāh* of Malik Aḥmad Yattū.³ A large number of people were attracted to him, among them the celebrated saint Shaikh Ḥamza.⁴

Saiyid Jamālu'd-Dīn urged his disciples to keep themselves aloof of *'ulamā-i-zāhirī* (externalist scholars), who, according to him, learnt books mechanically and did not understand the mysteries of the spiritual path.⁵ Like many other Ṣūfīs, he laid great stress on the recital of *zikr* and on leading a life of ascetic solitude.⁶

The Saiyid did not stay for long in Kashmīr, leaving for Delhi after only six months.⁷ Through his disciple Shaikh Ḥamza, however, he left an indelible mark on the Sufism of Kashmīr, and endowed the Suhrawardī Order with stability and firmness.

Shaikh Ḥamza Makhdūm, popular known in Kashmīr as "Maḥbūbu'l-Ālam" ("Beloved of the world"), was born in

1. Mullā at one place calls him Jalālu'd-Dīn and at another place Jamālu'd-Dīn; cf. *K.S.*, ff. 142b, 143a.
2. *D.S.*, p. 69; *A.Ab.*, f. 116b; *T.Az.*, p. 82; Ghulām Sarwar, *Khazīnatu'l-Aṣfiya*, II, p. 85; *T.H.*, III, p. 56; *T.K.*, pp. 46-7.
3. *D.S.*, p. 65; *R.N.*, f. 348a; *A.Ab.*, f. 117a; *K.S.*, f. 143a; *T.H.*, III, p. 56; *T.K.*, p. 47. This *khānqāh* was built by Malik Aḥmad Yattū, *wazīr* of Sultān Ḥasan Shāh (1472-84).
4. *D.S.*, pp. 65, 67; *R.N.*, f. 348a; *A.Ab.*, f. 117a; *K.S.*, f. 143a; *T.Az.*, p. 82; *T.H.*, III, p. 56; *T.K.*, p. 47.
5. *D.S.*, p. 67.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 66, 67.
7. *D.S.*, p. 67; *A.Ab.*, f. 118b; *Khazīnatu'l-Aṣfiyā*, II, p. 86, *T.H.*, p. 57. *T.K.*, p. 47.

900/1494,¹ at Tijr,² in the modern district of Bārāmūla. His father 'Usmān Raina was a patron of learning and helped in the maintenance of the seminary of Shaikh Ismā'il Kubravī³ at Srīnagar.⁴

Shaikh Ḥamza obtained his early education at this seminary,⁵ where Shaikh Faṭḥu'llāh,⁶ the son of Shaikh Ismā'il, personally taught him for one year.⁷ He learnt the Qur'ān and its commentary from Maulānā Darwesh of the same institution.⁸ From Maulānā Luṭfu'llāh, who was a teacher at the *Madrasatu'l-Dāru'sh-Shifā*; founded by Sulṭān Ḥasan Shāh, he studied books on *fiqh* and some works of Saiyid 'Alī Hamādānī.⁹

When Saiyid Jamālu'd-Dīn Bukhārī arrived in Kashmīr, Shaikh Ḥamza became his disciple and received initiation into

1. *T.H.*, III, p. 201; *T.K.*, p. 149.
2. *D.S.*, p. 41; *C.A.*, f. 83a; *R.N.*, f. 366b; *A.Ab.*, f. 120b; *K.S.*, f. 143a; *T.Az.*, p. 41; *Khazīnatu'l-Aṣfiyā*, II, p. 86; *F.Q.*, f. 202b; *T.H.*, III, p. 201; *T.K.*, p. 149.
3. See *infra*, ch. IV for his biography.
4. *D.S.*, p. 41; *T.H.*, III, p. 201.
5. *D.S.*, pp. 44-5; *C.A.*, f. 65b; *R.N.*, f. 367a-b; *A.Ab.*, f. 122b; *K.S.*, f. 143a; *T.H.*, III, p. 201; *T.K.*, p. 149. It is said that one morning Shaikh Ḥamza, while still a boy, was going as usual to his teacher in his village, and he met his friends who persuaded him to play truant and join them in their play. Later when the Shaikh went back home, his father asked him what lesson he had read that day. The Shaikh admitted that he had not been to his teacher and was severely punished, because of which he fell seriously ill. However, when he recovered, his grandfather, Zaitū Raina, brought him to the city and enrolled him there at Shaikh Ismā'il's institution.
6. See *infra*, ch. IV for his biography.
7. *D.S.*, p. 45; *C.A.*, f. 74b; *R.N.*, f. 367b; *T.H.*, III, p. 201; *T.K.*, p. 149.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 45; *ibid.*, f. 74b; *ibid.*, f. 381b; *ibid.*, p. 202; *ibid.*, p. 149.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 63; *ibid.*, f. 74b; *ibid.*, f. 381b; *ibid.*, p. 202; *ibid.*, p. 149. For life and works of Saiyid 'Alī Hamādānī see *infra*, ch. III, and Index A.

the Suhrawardī order.¹ Saiyid Jamālu'd-Dīn, before his departure from Kashmīr, gave the Shaikh the *silsila-nāmā* and *ijāzat-nāmā*, documents authorising him to enrol disciples into the Suhrawardī order.²

Shaikh Ḥamza carved out a path in Sufism different from that of Saiyid 'Alī Ḥamadānī.³ Like the mystics of Bāyazīd Bistām (d. 874) and Maṣṣūr Hallāj (d. 913), he was transported in a state of mystical ecstasy called *sukr*. Like Bāyazīd he cried out "*Subḥānī ! Mā a'zama sha'nī*" ("Glory be to me ! How great is my Majesty !"). When asked to explain his utterance the Shaikh replied : "One who makes such a statement gets identified with the Essence".⁴

Shaikh Ḥamza considered the *zikr* to be medicine for the ailments of the heart.⁵ For long periods of time he recited *zikr* incessantly, and he urged his disciples to do the same.⁶ Solitude, he explained, did not mean only that one should confine oneself to a cell but also that one's heart and mind should be controlled in order to concentrate upon God.⁷ It is said that once Bābā Dāwud Khākī, one of his disciples who had retired to seclusion, stood in need of clarification of some point. He wrote his problem upon a piece of paper and left it at the window for the servant to take to the Shaikh. On receiving Khākī's note, Shaikh Ḥamza was highly displeased with him and remarked that his doubts emerged from the lack of concentration and distraction of heart and mind.⁸

1. *D.S.*, p. 63; *C.A.*, f. 89b; *H.M.*, f. 194b; *R.N.*, f. 369a; *A.Ab.*, f. 125a; *K.S.*, f. 143a; *T.Az.*, p. 104; *Khazīnatu'l-Aṣṣfiyā*, II, p. 86; *F.Q.*, f. 202b; *T.H.*, III, p. 205; *T.K.*, p. 151.

2. *D.S.*, p. 67; *C.A.*, f. 89b; *H.M.*, f. 19'b; *R.N.*, 83 8a; *A.Ab.*, f. 125a; *K.S.*, f. 143b; *T.Az.*, p. 104; *Khazīnatu'l-Aṣṣfiyā*, II, p. 86; *T.H.*, III, p. 205; *T.K.*, p. 151.

3. See *infra*, ch. III for Saiyid 'Alī's teachings.

4. *C.A.*, f. 60b.

5. *D.S.*, p. 66; *C.A.*, f. 57a-b; *H.M.*, ff. 8b, 120b; *R.N.*, f. 401a.

6. *C.A.*, f. 12; *R.N.*, f. 398b.

7. *D.S.*, p. 175; *C.A.*, f. 16b; *R.N.*, f. 398b; *T.H.*, III, p. 202.

8. *C.A.*, f. 19b; *H.M.*, f. 109b; *A.Ab.*, f. 153b; *T.H.*, III, pp. 215-6.

Following the path of the Suhrawardīs,¹ Shaikh Ḥamza strongly disapproved of *samāʾ* (mystical music).² Once he was going to say his prayers, and happened to hear *samāʾ*; he thereupon immediately performed his ablutions afresh because he had heard the "forbidden practice".³

Shaikh Ḥamza lived at a very crucial period of Kashmir history. He saw the downfall of the Shāh Mīr dynasty and the rise of the Chaks, most of whom were Shīʾīs. The internecine conflicts between the Shīʾīs and Sunnīs vitiated the religious climate of the country.⁴ The Shaikh's preceptors, such as Shaikh Faṭḥu'llāh, were inveterate enemies of the Shīʾīs. Later he came into contact with Saiyid Aḥmad Kirmānī,⁵ another strong opponent of them.

Thus partly under their influence and partly because of his own conviction,⁶ Shaikh Ḥamza became a strong supporter of the Sunnī sect. He waged an incessant ideological battle against the Shīʾīs, and is said to have converted some of them to the Sunnī faith.⁷

His hostilities against the Shīʾīs aroused the enmity of Sultān Ghāzī Chak (1561-63), who was an orthodox Shīʾī.⁸ He ordered the Shaikh to leave the city, whereupon he went to the village of Biru and returned only after the end of Ghāzī's rule.⁹

Shaikh Ḥamza lived for eightyfour years and breathed his last on 24 Ṣafar, 984/23 May, 1576.¹⁰ He was buried on

1. Cf. *ʿAwāif-u'l-Maʿārif*, II, pp. 202ff.

2. *D.S.*, p. 219; *R.N.*, f. 372a.

3. *D.S.*, p. 219.

4. See *infra*, pp. 289 ff.

5. *D.S.*, p. 174; *C.A.*, f. 41b; *A.Ab.*, f. 131a.

6. Cf. *D.S.*, p. 216; *R.N.*, ff. 396a-b, 367a; *A.Ab.*, ff. 128a-b, 133a-b.

7. *D.S.*, pp. 151, 218.

8. Cf. *T.Ks.*, f. 30a-b; *A.Ab.*, f. 138b; *N.A.*, f. 76a; *T.Az.*, p. 91; *T.H.*, II, p. 236. See also *infra*, p. 295.

9. *A.Ab.*, f. 138b; *T.H.*, II, p. 236. See also *C.A.*, ff. 77b-78b; *H.M.*, f. 127a-b.

10. *C.A.*, f. 67a; *H.M.*, f. 127a; *A.Ab.*, f. 143a; *T.Az.*, pp. 105-6; *Khazīnatu'l-Aṣfiyā*, II, p. 87; *F.Q.*, f. 144a; *T.H.*, III, p. 211; *T.K.*, p. 154.

the slope of Koh-i-Marān in Srinagar,¹ where in his lifetime he used to spend long hours in meditation. His shrine even to this day is an object of veneration and a place of pilgrimage for many Kashmiri Muslims.

Among the disciples of Shaikh Ḥamza are mentioned Bābā Dāwud *Khākī*, Maulānā Shamsu'd-Din Pāl, *Khawāja* Ishāq Qāri', *Khawāja* Hasan Qāri' and Bābā Ḥaidar Tulmūli.² Of these the most distinguished was Bābā Dāwud *Khākī*. He hailed from the well known Ganā'i family of Kashmir,³ and used "*Khākī*" as his pen-name.⁴

While still young, Bābā Dāwud lost his parents, but he continued his education⁵ by earning his livelihood as a scribe,⁶ a craft in which his father, Ḥasan Ganā'i, had been famous.⁷ He received his education from two well known teachers of the time, Mullā Baṣīr and Mullā Raḥīu'd-Din.⁸

After completing his education Bābā Dāwud served for some time as a tutor to the royal family;⁹ but under the influence of Shaikh Ḥamza, he gave up worldly life and devoted himself wholeheartedly to Sūfī practices. For many years he waited on his preceptor as a humble servant.¹⁰ Impressed with his devotion¹¹ and spiritual progress, Shaikh Ḥamza appointed him as his *khalīfa*¹².

1. T.H., III, p. 212; T.K., p. 154.

2. Cf. T.H., III, pp. 214ff.

3. R.N., f. 335b; T.H., III, p. 215; T.K., p. 157.

4. D.S., p. 373; R.N., f. 336a; K.S., f. 170a; T.H., III, p. 215; T.K., p. 157.

5. R.N., f. 335b; T.H., III, p. 215; T.K., p. 157.

6. C.A., f. 19b; R.N., f. 336a; T.K., p. 157.

7. T.K., p. 157.

8. C.A., f. 42a; H.M., f. 108b; R.N., f. 336a; T.H., III, p. 215; T.K., p. 157.

9. C.A., f. 42b; H.M., f. 108b; R.N., f. 336a; T.H., III, p. 215; T.K., p. 157.

10. C.A., f. 45a; H.M., f. 151b; R.N., f. 336b; A.Ab., 151b; K.S., f. 170a; T.H., III, p. 215; T.K., p. 157.

11. It is said that because of the menial work which he used to perform for the Shaikh, people would pass bitterly sarcastic remarks about him. C.A., f. 50b; R.N., f. 337a-b; T.H., III, p. 215.

12. Ibid.

Bābā Dāwud was one of the most eminent scholars of his time. He wrote a number of works, among which the better known are : *Risāla-i-Ghuslīya*, *Rishī-Nāmā* or *Qaṣīdu'l-Amīya*, *Wirdu'l-Murīdīn* and *Dastūru's-Sālikīn*.¹

In the *Risāla-i-Ghuslīya*, he explains the virtues and benefits of cleanliness. The *Rishī-Nāmā* recounts the biographies of some of the Kashmīrī saints and their miracles. The *Wirdu'l-Murīdīn* is a treatise of 440 verses. In it Bābā Dāwud glorifies the spiritual achievements and supernatural feats of his preceptor, Shaikh Ḥamza.

The most important and voluminous of his work is *Dastūru's Sālikīn*. It is a commentary upon the *Wirdu'l-Murīdīn*, and gives interesting glimpses of the life and teachings of Shaikh Ḥamza and of his own. The bulk of the work, however, consists of the sayings of the Prophet, his companions and prominent Ṣūfīs. The sayings are based on well known Ṣūfī works such as *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, *Kashfū'l-Maḥjub*, *'Awārifū'l Ma'ārif* and *Nafaḥātu'l-Uns*.² The work makes copious references to the treatises of Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī³ and incorporates his *Risāla-Dah Qā'ida* in full.⁴

Bābā Dāwud held independent views on several controversial issues and practices of the Ṣūfīs. For instance he approved of *samā'*, which the Suhrawardīs in general and Shaikh Ḥamza in particular had denounced as a forbidden practice. Bābā Dāwud urged that *samā'*, stimulates love when heard within the limits prescribed by the Ṣūfī masters.⁵

1. The first, third and fourth were published at Srinagar in 1356/1937, and the second is in the possession of the Research Department, Srinagar.

2. Cf. *D.S.*, pp. 5, 7, 8, 10, 27, 30, 92 etc.

3. Cf. *D.S.*, p. 45 and *Z.M.*, p. 183; *D.S.*, p. 203 and *K.H.*, f. 232b; *D.S.*, p. 85 and *Ms.C.*, f. 289a.

4. Cf. *D.S.*, pp. 154ff.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 220.

Similarly he laid great stress on *Khilwat dar anjuman*¹ and *hosh dar dam*,² two of the eleven principles of the Naqsh-bandī order,³ and urged the seeker after truth to follow them.⁴ Further, he upheld *zīkr-i-khafī* (inward remembrance of God) as against *zīkr-i-jahr*⁵ (outward remembrance of God), and believed that the latter was meant for beginners alone.⁶

His attitude towards the renouncement of the world, however, accorded with the Suhrawardī doctrines. Like the Suhrawardī,⁷ he believed that the renouncement of the world did not mean that one should go naked or wear only a *lungota* (the narrow strip of cloth which the poor wear about the waist). Renunciation in fact demanded nothing but sincerity on the part of the devotee ; wealth in itself was no obstacle to the mystical path.⁸

Regarding the necessity of *pīr* (preceptor) for the person on the path to God, Bābā Dāwud approved the traditional Sūfī view that if one has no *pīr* his guide is Satan.⁹ The *pīr*, he maintained, is the deputy (*nā'ib*) and *khalīfa* of the Prophet.¹⁰ Hence the disciple should not try to find out the shortcomings of his preceptor.¹¹

1. Ability to enjoy solitude even while in an assembly. Here the aim is that even while living in the midst of worldly people one should be able to contemplate God.
2. Awareness while breathing. Not a breath may be inhaled or exhaled in the state of forgetfulness of the Divine presence.
3. Cf. Fakhrū'd-Dīn, *Rashhāt-i-'Ainu'l-Ḥayāt*, ff. 20a.
4. *D.S.*, pp. 24-5.
5. Cf. Saiyid 'Alī's views, *infra* ch. III,
6. *D.S.*, pp. 100 and 140.
7. Shaiikh Bāhā'ud-Dīn Zakariya (1182-1262). the pioneer saint of the Suhrawardī order in India, was famous for the large fortune he had amassed. When questioned about his fortune, Bahā'ud-Dīn replied : "A serpent can harm only one who does not know *afsun* (incantations)" Hamīd bin Fazlu'llāh, *Siyāru'l-'Arifin*, p. 14. See also, Ḥasan Sijzī, *Fawā'idu'l-Fa'ūd*, pp. 236-7.
8. *D.S.*, p. 187.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 2-4.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 103.

Bābā Dāwud's attitude towards the Shi'is remained the same as that of his Shaikh. Throughout his work *Dastūru's-Sālikīn*, his hostility and antipathy towards the Shi'ī sect is prominently displayed. The topic will be discussed in detail elsewhere.¹

He breathed his last on 3 Šafar, 994/24 January, 1586,² and is buried near the tomb of his spiritual master.

1. See *infra*, ch. VIII,

2. *A.Ab.*, f. 168b; *K.S.*, f. 170a; *T.Az.*, p. 109; *T.H.*, III, p. 219; *T.Ā.* p. 157.

CHAPTER III

THE KUBRAVĪ ORDER—A

Among the Ṣūfī orders introduced in Kashmīr the Kubravīya order gained the most widespread popularity there. It was founded by Aḥmad bin 'Umaru'l-Khayūqī, popularly called Najmu'd-Dīn Kubrā,¹ born in Khwārazm, in 540/1145. He had spent most of his youth in travelling to various Islamic countries.² During one of his sojourns at Khurāsān, he came in contact with Shaikh Ismā'il Qaṣrī,³ a disciple of Shaikh Abū'l-Najīb Suhrawardī. After some time Shaikh Ismā'il advised him to go to Shaikh 'Ammār Yāsir,⁴ who initiated him into Sufism, and in his turn sent Najmu'd-Dīn to Shaikh Rūzbihān,⁵ for further education. Impressed with the spiritual progress of Najmu'd-Dīn, Shaikh Rūzbihān sent him back to Shaikh 'Ammār Yāsir, who ultimately asked Najmu'd-Dīn to settle in his native place, Khwārazm. In accordance with the direction of his preceptor, Najmu'd-Dīn made Khwārazm the centre of his activities.⁶

1. "Kubra" is an abbreviation of his title "*Tāmmatu'l-Kubrā*", which was given to him by his friends, in the days of his student life, on account of his victories in debates with his adversaries; *N.U.*, p. 270; Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī, *Haft-Iqlīm*, III, p. 317; Qāzī Nūru'llāh Shustarī, *Majālisu'l-Mu'minīn*, p. 286.
2. Cf. *N.U.*, pp. 270ff. See also *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, III, p. 823.
3. Iqbāl bin Sābiqī-Sistānī, *Chihil-Majlis*, f. 183a; *N.U.*, p. 272; *Haft-Iqlīm*, III, p. 317; *Majālisu'l-Mu'minīn*, p. 286.
4. He was one of the followers of Shaikh Abū'l-Najīb; *N.U.*, p. 269.
5. He too was a disciple of Shaikh Abū'l-Najīb and had settled in Egypt; *N.U.*, p. 269.
6. *Chihil-Majlis*, ff. 182b-183a; *N.U.*, pp. 272-3; *Haft-Iqlīm*, III, pp. 217-8; *Majālisu'l-Mu'minīn*, p. 286.

Berthels wrongly says that Najmu'd-Dīn's first teacher was Shaikh Rūzbihān and later went to 'Ammār Yāsir and then to Ismā'il Qaṣrī, who asked him to settle at Khwārazm (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, III, p. 823). In fact the sources on which Berthels has based his information (*N.U.*, *Haft-Iqlīm*, *Majālisu'l-Mu'minīn*) do not support this.

Najmu'd-Din soon became an outstanding personality of his time. He was a prolific writer and his works¹ came to be recognised as standard text-books of advanced Šūfī theories. "The Šūfī writings of Nadjm al-Dīn", writes Berthels, "form a transition from the older Šūfīsm of the first theorists (the Nishāpūr school of the Xth-XIth centuries) to the later Šūfīsm of Ibn al-'Arabī and his successors."²

During the lifetime of Najmu'd-Dīn, Central Asia and Persia were in turmoil. Chingīz Khan (1206-1227) had started his career of rapine and conquest. Khwārazm was also sacked by the Mongol army. Chingīz Khān, however, offered protection to Najmu'd-Dīn, but he declined the offer.³ He eventually perished along with thousands of others in 1221,⁴ during a battle with the Mongols.⁵

The teachings of the Kubraviya order were spread widely in various parts of the Muslim world, especially in Central Asia and Persia, by the disciples of Najmu'd-Dīn.⁶ The most eminent among them were,⁷ Majadu'd-Din Baghdādī⁸ (d. in between 609/1209 and 616/1219), Raziu'd-Dīn 'Alī Lālā (d. 642/1244), Sa'du'd-Dīn Ḥamawī (d. 650/1253), Najmu'd-Dīn Rāzī (d. 654/1256) and Bābā Kamālu'd-Dīn of Jand. All of them, according to Jāmī, were incomparable in the world of the Šūfīs.⁹

Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī, who introduced the Kubraviya order in Kashmīr, was linked with that order through Raziu'd-Dīn 'Alī Lālā. Raziu'd-Dīn, after travelling to a number of Islamic countries, had settled in Turkistān, in the

1. See *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, III, p. 823, for his works.

2. Ibid.

3. *Jāmi'u'l-Tawārikh*, I, pp. 373-4; *Haft-Iqlim*, III, pp. 318-9.

4. *N.U.*, pp. 273-4.

5. *Jāmi'u'l-Tawārikh*, I, p. 374; *N.U.*, p. 273.

6. Cf. Aṣghar 'Alī Ḥikmat, "Les Voyages D'un Mystique person De Hamadan Au Kashmīr", *Journal Asiatique*, CCXL, 1952, pp. 55-6.

7. Cf. *N.U.*, pp. 279ff.

8. He was the preceptor of the celebrated Farīdu'd-Dīn 'Attār (d. 1220 or 1230); *N.U.*, p. 391.

9. *N.U.*, p. 274.

Khānqāh of Shaikh Aḥmad Yasū.¹ He came in contact with Najmu'd-Dīn at *Khawārazm* and became his disciple.²

Among the principal disciples of Raḡlu'd-Dīn was Shaikh Aḥmad Jauzqānī (d. 669/1270), an eminent Ṣūfī of his time. He in his turn initiated Shaikh Abdu'l-Raḥmān Isfarā'inī (born in 639/1241) in the Kubraviya order.³ Shaikh Isfarā'inī, who was also a well known Ṣūfī, attracted a large number of disciples, the most distinguished among whom was Ruknu'd-Dīn Abū'l-Makārim generally known as 'Alā'u'd-Daula Simnānī (659-736/1261-1336).

'Alā'u'd-Daula Simnānī was an erudite scholar and a prolific writer.⁴ During his youth he had served Īlkhān Arghūn⁵ (613--690/1284-1291), under whom his father, Malik Sharafu'd-Dīn, and uncle, Malik Jalālu'd-Dīn, held offices of distinction.⁶ However, after some time, under a fit of mystical ecstasy, he gave up the Mongol service and devoted himself entirely to God.⁷

He strongly rejected the idea that a Ṣūfī should not possess wealth. He quoted many examples of his predecessors such as Majadu'd-Dīn Baghdādī, who had accumulated vast wealth while yet pursuing the mystic path.⁸ Again he did not approve of the quiet and withdrawn ascetic life. He believed that the duty of a Ṣūfī was to preach his faith.⁹

1. Yassi is a place in Turkistān and Shaikh Aḥmad, who is said to have been a descendant of Muḥammad ibn Ḥanafī, son of the Caliph 'Alī, is buried there. His tomb exists at Yassi under the name of "Ḥazrat-i-Turkistān"; cf. G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, pp. 485-6.
2. *Chihil-Majlis*, ff. 182b, 183b-184a; *N.U.*, p. 282.
3. *N.U.*, p. 283.
4. He himself is reported to have claimed that he had blackened one thousand *tabāq* (sheets) for the sake of Sufism; cf. Daulat Shāh Samarqandī, *Tazkiratu'l-Shu'rā*, p. 280.
5. *Chihil-Majlis*, f. 173; *Tazkirātu'l-Shu'rā*, p. 280; *N.U.*, p. 284.
6. *Chihil-Majlis*, ff. 158b, 173a, 193a; *Tazkiratu'l-Shu'rā*, p. 280. The latter wrongly gives his uncle's name as Malik Sharafu'd-Dīn.
7. *Chihil-Majlis*, f. 158a; *Tazkiratu'l-Shu'rā*, p. 280.
8. *Chihil-Majlis*, f. 191b; *N.U.*, p. 280; *FK*, f. 43a.
9. Cf. *Chihil-Majlis*, ff. 169a, 172b.

Among the Ṣūfīs, who were trained in his *khānqāh*, there arose a number of scholars and mystics. Shaikh Abū'l-Mā'li Sharafu'd-Dīn Maḥmūd bin 'Abdu'llāh Muzdaqānī also belonged to that galaxy of scholars and Ṣūfīs who were trained in 'Alā'u'd-Daula's *khānqāh*.¹ Unfortunately for us the details of the life² and activities of Shaikh Muzdaqānī are not known. But he remains the most prominent among the followers of 'Alā'ud-Daula Simnānī, because of his disciple, Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī, whom he initiated in the Kubraviya order.

THE LIFE OF SAIYID 'ALĪ

Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī, popularly known in Kashmīr as "Shāh-i-Hamadān" (the lord of Hamadān), was born at Hamadān on 12 Rajab, 714/22 October, 1314. He was a member of the family of the 'Alawī Saiyids of that town,⁴ claiming descent from 'Alī the fourth Caliph.⁵ His father Saiyid Shihābu'd-Dīn is said to have been a *ḥākim* (governor) of Hamadān⁶ and appears to have shown little interest in the education of his son. This responsibility fell on his maternal uncle 'Alā'u'd-Daula, a saint of considerable piety and devotion.⁷ Some modern scholars wrongly identify him with the celebrated 'Alā'u'd-Daula Simnānī.⁸

At a very young age Saiyid 'Alī memorised the whole Qur'ān.⁹ When he was only twelve years old¹⁰ his maternal

1. *K.M.*, p. 450; *F.K.*, f. 54a.
2. What we are told is that he had great spiritual power and that he never married; *K.M.*, p. 456; *F.K.*, f. 54a.
3. *F.K.*, f. 54a; *T.H.*, III, p. 11; *T.K.*, p. 10.
4. Cf. Ḥikmat, op. cit., *Journal Asiatique*, CCXL, 1952, p. 53.
5. *K.M.*, p. 441; *Mastūrāt*, f. 348b; *F.K.*, f. 54b; *T.H.*, III, p. 11; *T.K.*, p. 10.
6. *K.M.*, p. 441; *F.K.*, f. 54b; *T.H.*, III, p. 11.
7. *K.M.*, p. 441; *F.K.*, f. 54b; *T.H.*, III, p. 11; *T.K.*, p. 11.
8. Cf. Ṣūfī, *Kashīr*, I, p. 85.
9. *K.M.*, p. 441; *F.K.*, f. 54b; *T.H.*, III, p. 11; *T.K.*, pp. 10-1.
10. *K.M.*, p. 451; *F.K.*, f. 54b.

uncle introduced him to Shaikh Muzdaqānī,¹ who, after teaching him² the elementary principles of Sufism, sent him to Taqīu'd-Dīn 'Alī Dūstī,³ another disciple of 'Alā'u'd-Daula Simnānī.⁴ Saiyid 'Alī remained with his new teacher for about two years,⁵ and after his death he returned to Shaikh Muzdaqānī, who put the finishing touches to his education.⁶

According to Abdu'l-Wahhāb, Saiyid 'Alī also received guidance from 'Alā'u'd-Daula Simnānī.⁷ Ja'far Badakhshī also supports this and says that Saiyid 'Alī had collected some four hundred traditions of the Prophet (*aḥaddīṣ*) from various prominent saints of his time, including 'Alā'u'd-Daula Simnānī.⁸

When 'Alā'u'd-Daula Simnānī died, Saiyid 'Alī was about twenty-two years old. It is not therefore unlikely that he came in contact with the great saint and his own preceptor Shaikh Muzdaqānī may have recommended him to his teacher.

Like most of his predecessors, Saiyid 'Alī travelled very extensively⁹ and is said to have performed the pilgrimage twelve times.¹⁰ His most important journey, however, was his visit to Kashmīr, which is said to have been caused by the cruelty of Timūr (1335-1405) towards the 'Alawī Saiyids of

1. *K. Mb.*, p. 451.; *A.A.b.*; *Mastūrāt*, f. 350 b; *F.K.*, f. 54b; *T.H.*, III, p. 12. Miskīn wrongly says that the Saiyid first went to Taqīu'd-Dīn 'Alī Dūstī; *T.K.*, p. 11.
2. *F.K.*, f. 55a.
3. Jāmī calls him Nafīu'd-Dīn; *N.U.*, p. 290.
4. *K.M.*, p. 457; *N.U.*, p. 290.
5. *F.K.*, f. 55a.
6. *N.U.*, p. 290; *A.Ab.*, f. 10b; *Mastūrāt*, f. 355b; f. 55a; *T.H.*, III, p. 12.
7. *F.K.*, f. 55a.
8. *K.M.*, pp. 453-4.
9. Cf. *Haft Iqlīm*, II, p. 539; *A.Ab.*, f. 10b; *F.K.*, f. 55b.
10. *K.M.*, pp. 561, 574.

Hamadān. 'Alī Aṣghar Ḥikmat¹ and Muḥibbu'l-Ḥasan,² two modern scholars, suggest that when Tīmūr for the third time invaded Persia and Irāq, in 1383, he expelled the powerful 'Alawi Saiyids from there, and Saiyids 'Alī left Hamadān and took refuge in Kashmīr.³

The Ṣūfīs in general and the Kubravīyas in particular travelled extensively in the various parts of the Muslim world. After the conversion of Ghazān Khān through a Ṣūfī, Ṣadru'd-Dīn Ḥamawī (d. 722/1322),⁴ the Persian Ṣūfīs, especially the followers of 'Alā'u'd-Daula Simnānī, began to take great interest in missionary activities.

Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī and his companions were not the only ones to leave Persia. Many other Ṣūfīs, who were trained at the *khānqāh* of 'Alā'u'd-Daula Simnānī, left their native towns and travelled as far as Gulbarga in south India.⁵ Mir Saiyid Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī (d. 1405), who had travelled

1. "Les Voyages D'un Mystique Person de Hamadan Au Kashmīr", *Journal Asiatique*, CCXL, 1952, p. 62.
2. *Sultāns*, p. 56. Muḥibbu'l-Ḥasan has based his argument on the information of Ḥikmat, who himself does not cite any source for this.
3. According to a popular legend Tīmūr once invited Saiyid 'Alī to his palace to test his spiritual power. When the Saiyid came, the arrangements for sitting had been made in such a way that *qibla* would be behind him. It is said that the Saiyid had never sat like that in his life. But when Saiyid 'Alī sat down the palace rotated and he faced the *qibla*. After the meal was served, Tīmūr asked Saiyid 'Alī whether he had taken lawful or unlawful food. Before the Saiyid could answer, a woman came to the court crying that she had left a lamb for her *pīr*, Saiyid 'Alī, and that the king's officials took it from her forcibly. The Saiyid at once remarked that it was served to him. Thus Tīmūr became annoyed and ordered the Saiyid to leave his kingdom immediately. Thereupon Saiyid 'Alī retired to Kashmīr; (*F.K.*, f. 58a-b; *T.H.*, III, p. 13; *T.K.*, p. 16). The legend is fictitious and absurd and deserves no attention.
4. *Jāmi'u'l-Tawārikh*, II, pp. 903-4; *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Ghāzān*, pp. 79-80.
5. Cf. *Latā'if-i-Ashrafī*, f. 216a, cited by S.A.A. Rizvi, *Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India*, p. 55.

for some time in the company of Saiyid 'Alī, also came to India and settled there at Kichaucha, in Faiẓabād (east of Lucknow).¹

There is ample evidence to show that Tīmūr was not hostile to the Saiyids² and he cannot be believed to have provoked Saiyid 'Alī to leave his native place. Saiyid 'Alī and his associates must have been attracted to Kashmir because Muslim rule was newly established there and offered considerable opportunities for popularising Islam. According to Ja'far Badakhshī, Saiyid 'Alī had been ordered by Shaikh Muzdaqānī to travel and preach the truth to the people.³ Saiyid 'Alī himself is said to have remarked that wherever he went, God the most powerful commanded him to travel and preach to the people.⁴

Moreover, Saiyid 'Alī did not come to Kashmir alone. He was accompanied by a large number of Saiyids, all of whom did not belong to the family of 'Alawī Saiyids. Lastly, some ten years before Tīmūr is said to have expelled the 'Alawī Saiyids from Hamadān, Saiyid 'Alī had sent two of his cousins, Saiyid Tāju'd-Dīn and Saiyid Ḥusain, to Kashmir to explore the religious atmosphere of that country.⁵

The report must have been encouraging,⁶ as Saiyid 'Alī

1. *Akhhāru'l Akhyār*, p. 166.

2. "I [Tīmūr] ordered that on all occasions of ceremony, the Syeds (Saiyids)...and learned body, should be seated on my right hand.... I however took care that the Syeds were never to be treated with contempt or abused, and forbade their ever being bound or put to death...".

Malfūzāt-i-Tīmūrī, Eng. Tr., Stewart (*Memoirs of Tīmūr*), p. 14.

See also Nizāmu'd-Dīn Shāmī, *Ẓafar-Nāmā*, I, p. 104.

3. *K.M.*, pp. 560-1; see also *F.K.*, f. 55b.

4. *K.M.*, p. 573. According to the author of the *Mastūrāt* (f. 420a), the Prophet once appeared to Saiyid 'Alī in a dream and asked him to go to Kashmir and convert people there to Islam.

5. *T. Ks.*, f. 1a; *T. Az.*, pp. 35, 38; *F.K.*, f. 69b; *G.A.*, f. 116a-b. Saiyid Tāju'd-Dīn and Saiyid Ḥusain arrived in Kashmir, during the reign of Sultān Shihābu'd-Dīn (1354-1373). See *infra*, ch. IV for their biographies.

6. Cf. *T.Ks.*, f. 2b,

arrived in Kashmīr during the reign of Sultān Qutbu'd-Dīn (1373-1389).¹ The Sultān received him warmly and the Saiyid took up his residence at 'Alā'u'd-Dīnpura, in Srinagar.²

The chronology of Saiyid 'Alī's visit to Kashmīr is confusing and it is sometimes impossible to reconcile the accounts of the various sources. According to two later authorities, Hasan³ and Miskīn,⁴ Saiyid 'Alī visited Kashmīr three times, in 774/1372-73, 781/1379-80, and 785/1383-84. Neither of them mention any activity of Saiyid 'Alī's first two visits. According to a legend, Saiyid 'Alī is said to have travelled three times all over the world,⁵ and Hasan and Miskīn seem to have based their account on this story. Such modern scholars as Muḥīu'd-Dīn Šūfī,⁶ and Muḥibbu'l-Ḥasan⁷ agree with them, both relying on Miskīn.

Miskīn's statements are, however, not free from doubt. For example he suggests that Saiyid 'Alī's first visit took place in 1372 and at the same time he says that Qutbu'd-Dīn was the ruler of that country.⁸ Qutbu'd-Dīn came to the throne in 1373⁹ and not in 1372. Again Miskīn maintains that Saiyid 'Alī came to Kashmīr for the third time in 785/1383-84 and he remarks that Nuru'd-Dīn Rishī¹⁰ was four years old at that time.¹¹ Elsewhere he gives the Rishī's date of birth as 779/1377-78.¹² This would mean that the Saiyid arrived in Kashmīr for the third time in 783/1381-82.

1. Mirzā Ḥaidar, *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, Eng. Tr., E.D. Ross, pp. 432-3; *A.A.*, II, p. 185; *T.Ks.*, f. 2b; *B.S.*, f. 23a; *T.Km.*, f. 91a; *N.A.*, f. 35a; *T.Az.*, p. 57.
2. *T.Ks.*, f. 3b; *T.Az.*, p. 26; *F.K.*, f. 58b. 'Alā'u'd-Dīnpura is now called *Khānqāh-i-Mu'allā*.
3. *T.H.*, III, pp. 14-5.
4. *T.K.*, pp. 12-4.
5. Cf. *Haft-Iqlīm*, II, p. 539.
6. *Kashīr*, I, pp. 86-7.
7. *Sultāns*, pp. 55-6.
8. *T.K.*, p. 12.
9. *R.Tj.*, p. 47.
10. See *infra*, ch. VI for his biography.
11. *T.K.*, p. 14.
12. *T.K.*, p. 92.

The early sources are unanimous in saying that Saiyid 'Alī came to Kashmīr only once. However, they also do not agree among themselves about the date of his arrival there.

Both Mirzā Ḥaidar¹ (d. 1551) and Abu'l-Faẓl² mention only one visit of Saiyid 'Alī to Kashmīr, which took place in the reign of Sultān Qutbu'd-Dīn.

According to Saiyid 'Alī, the author of *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr*, the Saiyid arrived in the Valley in 786/1384-85.³ At the same time he quotes a chronogram (*maqdam sharīf bajū*), by one Saiyid Muḥammad Khāwarī, which gives Saiyid 'Alī's date of arrival in Kashmīr as 785/1383-84.⁴ The two dates are not reconcilable. Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī died in 786/1385;⁵ therefore both the dates 785/1383-84, and 786/1384-85 are incorrect.⁶

Other authorities *Bahāristān-i-Shāhī*,⁷ Ḥaidar Malik,⁸ and Rafī'u'd-Dīn Aḥmad,⁹ give 783/1381, as the date of Saiyid 'Alī's arrival to Kashmīr. This seems to be reasonable as Saiyid 'Alī travelled extensively in the Valley and he must have spent a good deal of time there.

1. *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, pp. 432-3.

2. *A.A.*, II, p. 185.

3. *F.* 2a.

4. *T.Ks.*, f. 3a. On the margin of this work (f. 3a), the copyist wrongly calculates the date of Saiyid 'Alī's arrival as 783/1381-82, from the chronogram. Elsewhere, on the margin (f. 12a) there appear the two following dates :

A. Saiyid 'Alī's arrival in Kashmīr, 783/1381-82.

B. Saiyid 'Alī's death, 786/1384-85.

5. See *infra*, p. 39.

6. It is difficult to accept too the year 741/1340-41, which is given by the author of *Mastūrāt* (ff. 347b-48a), who also records only one visit of the Saiyid to the Valley. He states himself elsewhere (ff. 421b-22a), that after leaving the Valley the Saiyid died in 786/1384-85. This would mean that Saiyid 'Alī stayed in Kashmīr for about 45 years, which is supported by none of the sources.

7. *F.* 23a.

8. *T.Km.*, f. 91a.

9. *N.A.*, f. 35a.

Saiyid 'Alī's proselyting activities in Kashmir, are highly extolled by both medieval¹ and modern scholars.² But none of them give any details of the method adopted by him in his work.

One anecdote, common in all sources,³ reveals that Saiyid 'Alī resorted to miracles to obtain converts. It is said that the Brahman of *Kāl-i-mandar*,⁴ in Srinagar was the most famous ascetic of Kashmir in those days. Saiyid 'Alī, on hearing of his virtues, decided to visit him and to convert him to Islam. The Brahman, trying to impress the Saiyid, claimed that he could fly into the sky and at once demonstrated this feat.

Saiyid 'Alī thereupon ordered one of his followers, Saiyid Kabīr,⁵ to teach the Brahman a lesson. Saiyid Kabīr ordered his shoes to chase the Brahman and to bring him down by beating on the head. The shoes performed exactly what was ordered. The miracle convinced the Brahman of Saiyid 'Alī's superiority and he, along with his followers, accepted Islam.

This miracle is similar to one which a yogī is said to have performed in the court of Muḥammad bin Tughluq.⁶ The Ṣūfī *malḡūzāt* of the fourteenth century also record similar encounters between the Ṣūfīs and the yogīs.⁷ But the performance of miracles was no part of the activities of the Ṣūfīs. They rejected the supernatural powers of the yogīs with scorn, calling it *istidrāj* ("conferring of benefits by God on obstinate sinners").⁸

1. Cf. *T.Ks.*, ff. 2b-3a; *N.A.*, f. 35a; *Masturāt*, f. 421a; *F.K.*, f. 59a; *T.H.*, III, p. 16, *T.K.*, p. 14.

2. Cf. R.C. Temple, *The word of Lallā*, p. 2; Muḥibbu'l-Ḥasan, *Sultāns*, pp. 56, 235.

3. *T.Ks.*, ff. 3a-4b; *F.K.*, f. 58b; *T.H.*, III, p. 15; *T.K.*, pp. 13-4. See also *Masturāt*, f. 421a.

4. Now called *Khānqāh-i-Mu'allā*.

5. See infra, ch. VI for his biography.

6. Cf. Ibn Battūṭā, *Rehla*, Eng. Tr., H.A.R. Gibb (*Ibn Battūta Travels in Asia and Africa*), p. 226.

7. Cf. *Fawā'idu'l-Fu'ād*, pp. 57-8.

8. S.A.A. Rizvi, "Ṣūfīs and Nātha Yogis in Medieval Northern India (XII to XVI Centuries)", *The Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia*, VII, 1970, p. 128.

There is no doubt, however, that Islam in Kashmir received great impetus because of Saiyid 'Alī and his followers. Saiyid 'Alī, accompanied by his disciples, travelled widely in the Valley. He left his deputies at a number of places, which were great Hindu centres of those days, such as Pompur, Avantipura and Vijabror. These followers of Saiyid 'Alī established *khānqahs*, and the network of branches which gradually emerged became important centres of preaching and proselytisation.

In order to glorify Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī, some sources¹ assert that because of the absence of Muslim scholars in the country at that time, Sultān Qutbu'd-Dīn used to follow certain practices in contravention of Islamic teachings. But this claim is not reconcilable with the facts, as we know that the Saiyid himself held discussions with some Muslim scholars in Kashmir, who understood an extremely difficult and philosophical work such as the *Fulūḥāt-i-Makkiya* of Ibn 'Arabi.²

It is true that the *'ulamā* were not available in large number, but it is incorrect to believe that Kashmir at that time was devoid of Muslim scholars and that Islamic teachings were introduced only because of Saiyid 'Alī and his followers.

In fact if Sultān Qutbu'd-Dīn visited Hindu shrines, celebrated their festivals and dressed himself after the Hindu fashion,³ it was for political reasons. The great majority of his subjects were non-Muslim and the government officers, as the chronicler Saiyid 'Alī points out,⁴ were *mushriks* (idolators, i.e., Hindus); no doubt it was to maintain good relations with his subjects that he followed their customs and manners.⁵

1. *T.Ks.*, ff. 4b, 5a-b; *B.S.*, f. 23b; *T.Kh.*, f. 109a; *A.Ab.*, f. 19b : See also *T.Km.*, f. 91a; *T.Az.*, p. 36.

2. *T.Ks.*, f. 6a-b; *F.K.*, f. 71a; *T.Az.*, p. 39.

3. *T.Ks.*, f. 5a-b; *B.S.*, f. 23b; *T.Km.*, f. 91a; *T.Kh.*, f. 109a-b; *A.Ab.*, f. 19b; *T.Az.*, p. 36.

According to Jonarāja, Sultān Qutbu'dīn, in order to avert famines, once performed a *yajna*; *R. Tj.*, p. 53.

4. *T.Ks.*, f. 5a.

5. Qutbu'd-Dīn's grandfather, Shāh Mir, before him had even married his daughter and grand-daughters to Hindu chiefs for political reasons; see *supra*, Ch. I.

It was because of this policy of Sultān Qutbu'd-Dīn that Saiyid 'Alī's relations with him did not remain cordial¹. There was a conflict between them, arising from their different attitudes towards the non-Muslims² made it impossible for him to be reconciled with the policies of Sultān Qutbu'd-Dīn.

Dissatisfied with the Sultān's response to his teachings, Saiyid 'Alī decided to leave Kashmīr. The author of *Baharistan-t-Shāhī*, supported by two other authorities³, says: "When Sultān Qutbu'd-Dīn did not glorify (*raunaq*) Islam and implement the *sharī'a* as Saiyid 'Alī wished, he therefore decided not to stay any more in this country, and left via Bārāmūla, with the intention of performing the pilgrimage."⁴

On reaching Kunār,⁵ Saiyid 'Alī was urged by its chief,⁶ to stay there for a few days. There he fell ill and died⁷ on 6 Zu'l-Hijja, 786/19 January 1385, at the age of 73.⁸ His body was carried to *Khuttalān*,⁹ now in Russian Tājikistān and was buried there on 25 Jumādu'l-Auwal, 787/14 July, 1385.¹⁰

Religious and Political Thought of Saiyid 'Alī Hamadāni

1. Cf. *B.S.*, f. 25a; *T.Km.*, f. 93a; *T.Kh.*, ff. 109b-110a.
2. In his *Ṣ.M.* (pp. 117-8), Saiyid 'Alī advises a Muslim ruler to impose twenty humiliating conditions on his non-Muslim subjects and in return the non-Muslims are guaranteed nothing. 107-9.
3. *T.Km.*, f. 93a; *T.Kh.*, ff. 109b-110a.
4. *F.* 25a.
5. In the vicinity of Pakhlī, north-west of Kashmīr.
6. According to Ja'far Badakhshī, the name of the chief was Sultān Khizr (*K.M.*, p. 580). But A'zamī and Miskīn give his name as Sultān Muḥammad; *T.Az.*, p. 37; *T.K.*, pp. 14-5.
7. Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī wrongly says that Saiyid 'Alī died at Kābul; *Haft Iqlīm* II, p. 539.
8. *K.M.*, p. 580; *B.S.*, f. 25a; *A.Ab.*, f. 19b; *T.Az.*, p. 37; *T.H.*, III, pp. 16-7; *T.K.*, p. 15.
9. Kolāb, see A. Kolpakov, "*Khātira-i-Qadīmtarin dar Kolāb*" (Ancient Monument of Kolāb), in the Tājik periodical, *Khaqīqat-i-Kolāb*, 15 August, 1947, for the details about the mausoleum of Saiyid 'Alī at *Khuttalān*.
10. *K.M.*, p. 580. A'zamī, however, says that he was buried on 5 Jumādu'l-Auwal, 787/16 June, 1385 (*T.Az.*, p. 37). But Ja'far Badakhshī being contemporary, is more reliable and moreover he had attended the funeral prayer when the Saiyid was buried at *Khuttalān*; cf. *K.M.*, p. 580.

Saiyid 'Alî Hamadânî was a prolific writer. According to three¹ of his biographers, he was the author of 170 works. But none of them, except Wahhâb who lists sixteen of his treatises,² gives their titles.

However, various libraries in India, Irân and Europe have a number of treatises wrintten by Saiyid 'Alî in their collections. In India the Riẓâ Library, Rāmpur and the Oriental Research Department, Srinagar have the largest number of these. In Irân the Kitâb Khâna Millî of Tehrân, the library of Mashhad and the Malik Library, Tehrân, have manuscript copies of several treatises of Saiyid 'Alî. In England works of Saiyid 'Alî are to be found in the India Office Library and in the British Museum. A collection of Saiyid 'Alî's works is also in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. A consolidated list of the available works of Saiyid 'Alî is given in the Appendix A.

None of the works of Saiyid 'Alî, however, has so far been published, except *Zakhîratu'l-Mulûk* and *Risâla-i-Dah Qâbida*.³ Other than this, all his known works are very short, consisting of a few folios each. These short treatises, although not specifically mentioned as such, seem to be nothing short of letters, as their style and rambling character of their teachings show.

This technique was invented by Imâm Qushairî (d. 465/1072), who preferred to write short treatises on different topics of Şufism in the form of letters. His celebrated *Risâla*, although a large work, is in the form of a letter addressed to his contemporary Şufîs. Later on some other Şufîs also followed the same technique and many of their treatises are in the form of letters.

1. *Masturât*, f. 373a; *F.K.*, f. 57b; *T.H.*, III, p. 12.
2. Wahhâb (*F.K.*, f. 57b) claims that of the 170 works written by the Saiyid, he had seen about 50, but mentions only the following : *Zakhîratu'l-Mulûk*, *Ma'rîfatu'l-Zuhd*, *Halu'l-Faşûş*, *Majma'u'l-Ahādîş*, *Minhāju'l-'Arîfin*, *Mir'atu'l-Tai'bin*, *Mashariqu'l-Anwar*, *Sharḥ-i-Asmâ'i-Husnâ*, *Risâla-i-Talqîniya*, *Âdöbu'l-Murîdin*, *Risâla-i-Faqriya*, *Risâla-s-Khawatirya*, *Risala-i Dah Qâ'ida*, *Risâla-i-Manâqib*, *Sairu'l-Tâlibin* and *Asrâru'l-Naqt*.
3. This was published at Amritsar in 1321/1903 and has also appeared in an Urdu translation under the title of *Minhāju's-Suluk* (Lahore, 1334/1915). It was also translated into Latin by Ernest Friedrick Carl Rosenmueller in 1825 and into French by C. Solvent in 1829; vide, Şufî, *Kashîr*, I, p. 90.

There is only one collection of letters written by Saiyid 'Alī. This is known as *Risāla-i-Maktūbāt*.¹ It consists of eight letters, but the names of the persons to whom they were addressed are not generally given. Whether written to nobles and rulers, as were the letters of other Ṣufīs such as Shaikh Sharafu'd-Dīn Yahyā Munyārī of Bihār² and Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Quddus Gangoh;³ or addressed to the author's disciples the letters and treatises of Saiyid 'Alī are intended to serve as the basis of his teachings.

Some works of Saiyid 'Alī, which describe Sufism, give only the elementary stages of the Ṣufī path, while others deal with the more advanced stages of the discipline. Their styles therefore differ one from the other. Thus the elementary works, when read along with the advanced ones, seem to contradict the latter. For example, in one treatise the Saiyid says that love of God emerges from the human will,⁴ while in another he writes that it depends upon gnosis (*ma'rifa*).⁵ The treatise emphasising *irādat* or will deals with the elementary principles of Sufism, while the one devoted to *ma'rifa* embodies the advanced stage of spiritual attainment.

The style of Saiyid 'Alī is not different from that of other Ṣufī writers of those days. He substantiates his teachings with quotations from the Qur'ān and the sayings of the Prophet Muḥammad. Occasionally he quotes anecdotes of the pre-Islamic prophets and eminent religious authorities of early Islam in order to draw morals from them. Verses are also frequently quoted.

He generally asserts his beliefs without entering into controversial discussions, drawing mainly upon those Ṣufīs who followed the teachings of Abu'l-Qāsim al-Junaid (d. 298/

1. Charles Rieu has mentioned *Maktubāt-i-Amīriya* (*Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, II, f. 836b, Add. 16840, ff. 219a-223b), as being a separate work by Saiyid 'Alī. But an examination reveals that this is merely a copy of a letter included in the *Risāla-i-Maktubāt* (Add. 16840, ff. 162a-165b).
2. Cf. Rizvi, *Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India*, p. 49.
3. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 244.
4. *R.Z.*, f. 282b.
5. *R.M.Az.*, f. 237a.

910), and he quotes mainly from the works of Ghazālī (450-505/1058-1111) such as *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* and *Kāmiyā'-i-Sa'adat*. He does not quote Ash'arī (260-324/873-935) directly but derives his teachings from secondary sources.

Sūfic Thoughts

Saiyid 'Alī was both an 'ālim (scholastic thinker) and a Ṣūfī. As an 'ālim he addresses the 'amma'-i-khalq (common people) and expects them to obey the laws prescribed by the Ash'arite system of Sunni theology. As a Ṣūfī he gives an inner and esoteric interpretation of the teachings of Islam which have relevance only for the seekers after Truth, the *arbab-i-qulūb* (lit. men of heart), and *ṣidiqān* (truthful ones).

While describing the nature of the Godhead Saiyid 'Alī consistently maintains his two-fold approach one that of the 'ālim and the other that of the Ṣūfī. As an 'ālim he holds that Creator and creatures are two different realities. God is One, eternal and self-existent Being. He is neither matter nor substance. He has no form, nothing is like unto Him, whatsoever one conceives of Him, God the most high is beyond that.¹

Likewise the Saiyid accepts the eternity of the attributes of God. His attributes, he says, are uncreated, without beginning or end. All Divine revelations are His word and do not stand in need of a mouth in order to be uttered, or of letters in order to be written; their meaning is uncreated.²

But as a Ṣūfī he maintains the *wiṣāl* or mystical union is possible between the Creator and created. And this, he says, can be achieved only through the highest degree of *ma'rifa*, the *ma'rifa-i-mushāhada* (gnosis based on contemplation).³

The 'ulama too speak about the *ma'rifa*, but to them it means "right cognition ('ilm) of God".⁴ As an 'ālim Saiyid

1. *Z.M.*, pp. 6-7; *R.I.*, f. 244a.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 8; *ibid.*, f. 244a-b.

3. *R.S.M.*, f. 269a.

4. Theologians, lawyers, and other classes of men give the name of gnosis (*ma'rifat*) to right cognition ('ilm) of God", says Hujwīrī, "but the Ṣūfī Shaykhs call right feeling (*ḥāl*) by that name". *Kashf.*, En. Tr., R.A. Nicholson, p. 267.

‘Alī subscribes to this view, but he maintains that this type of *ma’rifā* is of the lowest degree, possessed by common people, who acknowledge that God is unique and everything in the world is His handiwork.¹

Above them, the Saiyid continues, are *‘ulamā-i-rusūm* (the traditional *‘ālims*) who possess *ma’rifā-i-istidlālī* (gnosis based on reason). They prove the existence of God on the basis of their worldly knowledge and wisdom.²

The highest degree of gnosis is *ma’rifā-mushāhada*, which Saiyid ‘Alī defines in his capacity as a *Ṣūfī*. Here the aspirant is completely absorbed in the contemplation of the nature, attributes and works of God. It is achieved, Saiyid ‘Alī points out, when the heart is purged of evil. Those who possess this type of *ma’rifā* have plunged themselves in the mysteries of God in the hope of *wiṣāl*.³

The *ma’rifā-i-mushāhada*, Saiyid ‘Alī believes is obtained through Divine revelation (*waḥy*) and Divine inspiration (*ilhām*).⁴ The Divine revelation obviously is granted to the prophets and Divine inspiration to the saints. But Hujwiri, an eleventh century *Ṣūfī* scholar, rejects the theory that gnosis is the result of *ilhām* and says : “gnosis supplies a criterion for distinguishing truth from falsehood, whereas the inspired have no such criterion.”⁵

However, Saiyid ‘Alī divides the recipients of Divine inspiration into three categories. The first, he says, is composed of those whose gnosis is based on mystical ecstasy (*shatḥī*). He is obviously thinking of the *Ṣūfis* like Bāyazīd Bastamī and Maṣṣūr al-Ḥallāj. To the second category belong *majzūb*⁶ who are perplexed in the *bādiya-i-haimān* (lit. desert of thirst). The third is composed of those who are in the stage of

1. *R.S.M.*, f. 269a.

2. *Ibid*.

3. *Ibid*.

4. *Ibid*.

5. *Kashf*, p. 271.

6. Literally means “attracted”. The term is used by the *Ṣūfis* for a person who is attracted by Divine grace and has little or no control over his actions.

ḥairat (amazement);¹ as Shiblī (d. 334/945) is said to have remarked : "Gnosis is continual amazement (*ḥyrat*)".²

Like other Ṣūfī writers,³ Saiyid 'Alī asserts that *ma'rifa* leads to the love of God. The love of God, he writes, emerges from gnosis and the greater the gnosis the more perfect is the love of God.⁴ Man's love of God, he insists, is the supreme end of the life of human beings. Those who believe that love cannot exist between man and God are imperfect Ṣūfīs.⁵ The unique distinction bestowed upon man by God is that angels were ordered to prostrate themselves before Adam.⁶ This took place because man alone was capable of attaining the love of God.⁷

Long before Saiyid 'Alī, Ṣūfīs had accepted love as the ideal relationship between man and God, tracing it back to the Qur'ān⁸ and the sayings of the Prophet.⁹ In order to justify that none but God is worthy of love, the Ṣūfīs divided love into different categories¹⁰ concluding that since those things for which one feels love originate from God. He alone is to be loved.¹¹

Saiyid 'Alī ascribes the inclination for love to five reasons :¹² *maḥabbat-i-naḥs* (love of the self), *maḥabbat-i-muḥsin* (love of a benefactor), *maḥabbat-i-sāhib-i-kamāl* (love of a perfect man), *maḥabbat-i-jamāl* (love for the beautiful), and *maḥabbat-i-ta'aruf-i-rūḥānī* (love based on spiritual relationship).

The love of the self is innate in mankind. He wants to

1. *R.S.M.*, f. 269a.
2. *Kashf.*, p. 275.
3. Cf. *Ihya*, IV, p. 288.
4. *R.M.Az.*, f. 237a.
5. *R.M.A.*, f. 233b. Cf. *Ihya*, IV, p. 286.
6. Cf. Qur'ān, 2 : 34 ; 7 : 11.
7. *R.Ṣ.*, f. 282a-b. Cf. Qur'ān, 33 : 72.
8. Cf. *ibid.*, 5 : 54 ; 2 : 65.
9. Cf. *Kashf.*, pp. 304-5 ; *Ihya*, IV, pp. 286ff...
10. Ghazālī attributes impulsion to love to four causes : love of the self, love of a benefactor, love for beauty and love based on affinity between two souls ; cf. *Ihya*, IV, pp. 289 ff...
11. Cf. *ibid.*
12. *R.M.Az.*, f. 237a.

preserve his own existence and strives for gains in life and avoids loss. This love for the existence of self is often canalized to the love of the Creator, Who bestows life and existence on every one.

The love for the benefactor emerges from the benefits that the man derives from him. But those who are able to recognise that the highest benefactor is God, cease to think of worldly benefactors and concentrate on God, thereby strengthening their bonds of love with the Almighty.

The love for perfect men emerges from the feelings of reverence to attributes such as knowledge, munificence and piety, with which they are endowed. These ethical virtues invariably make a deep impact on everyone. The respect for virtues and attributes may also lead people to the love of God, Who is the embodiment of all known and unknown attributes.

The love for beauty is the source of infatuation for everything that is beautiful and attractive; it gives pleasure and produces excitement ; for example, a beautiful woman is an object of attraction for all. The love for beauty is also instrumental in directing the mind of man, engrossed in earthly love, to the love of that Highest Being Who is the repository of all beauty.¹

The love based on spiritual relationship has no worldly source. It is the result of God's own gift and is predestined. He bestows spiritual love on one whom He chooses, without any other cause or reason.²

Thus the causes which infuse love into man are combined in their highest perfection in God, so He alone is worthy of

1. He pleads on the basis of a tradition recorded by Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal (780-855), that Allah is Beauty and He loves beauty (cf. Wensinck, *Concordance de La Tradition Musulmane*, I, p. 373). Beauty, the Saiyid says, is the eternal attribute of God, 'and the word 'beauty' can be attributed to none but God. Real beauty is One and with it nothing can be associated. Wherever and in whatever form beauty is seen, it is the reflection of the eternal Beauty; *R.M.Az.*, f. 236a-b.
2. *R.M.Az.*, f. 237a.

love. Since man's love for God is the result of *ma'rifa* all lovers cannot be endowed with the same degree of love. They differ in the intensity of their love, in proportion to their *ma'rifa*. Therefore Saiyid 'Alī divides the lovers of God into four categories : *a'am* (most common), *'ām* (common), *khāṣ* (select ones) and *akhaṣ* (highest among the select).¹

According to Saiyid 'Alī's scheme these four classes of people belong to four different (spiritual) worlds, in proportion to their spiritual attainments.

The most common ones, Saiyid 'Alī writes, are the *tālibān* the beginners. Their experience belongs to the world of the senses, which in ordinary Ṣūfī parlance is known as *'ālam-i-nāsūt* or the human world, but which the Saiyid calls *'ālam-i-shahādat* (the visible world.) Here the seeker after Truth operates through his senses. But as he rises higher in the realm of the Ṣūfī experience and overpowers his carnal self, he becomes a *sālik* (devotee) and enters the world of *ghā'ib wa misāl* (invisible of similitude), where he experiences some aspects of Divine beauty and action.²

The select are *muqarrabā*, those near to God, who belong to the world of *malakūt* ("psychic substance"). Here the heart of the traveller on the spiritual path begins to experience the reflection of the Divine beauty and obtains some awareness of its truth.

The *Ṣidiqān*, the highest among the elect, belong to the world of *jabarūt* ("spiritual existence"). Here the Ṣūfī begins to view the Divine beauty in its entirety. When one attains this stage, Saiyid 'Alī says, his love undergoes no change, because the lover at this point is completely drowned in the sea of unity and achieves *fanā* (annihilation in God).³

In another treatise, *Kashf ul-Haqā'iq*, Saiyid 'Alī defines the highest form of the Ṣūfī development as one where he experiences *tajallī-zāt* or the self manifestation of the Essence.⁴

To attain this spiritual end or mystical experience, the Saiyid gives another scheme, a mystical journey, divided into

1. Ibid., f. 237b.

2. Ibid.

3. R.M.Az., f. 237b. See infra pp. 47-8 for the definition of *fanā*.

4. K.H., f. 232a.

four worlds, *mulk* ("the visible world"), *malakūt* ("the world of psychic substance"), *jabarūt* (the world of spiritual existence"), and *lāhūt* ((divinity), which the traveller on the spiritual path has to cover.¹

In the world of *mulk*, the Sayid says, the seeker does not experience anything of great importance. Whatever occurs to him in this stage is worldly in its nature. But when the noble spirit (*shāhbāz-i-rūḥ*) of the seeker soars higher, he begins to travel in the world of *malakūt*, where he perceives lights of various colours (*anwārāt-i-mutalawwin*) and manifestations of Divine actions, which he has not experienced in the *mulk*.

When he passes beyond this world 'the august bird' (the seeker) who possesses exalted spiritual will, flies in the space of *jabarūt*. Here he becomes ready to receive the manifestation of the Divine qualities and to be associated with Divine virtues. The various coloured lights which appear to him in the *malakūt* are transformed into a single colour. When the seeker makes enough progress he enters the world of *lāhūt* where he receives the manifestation of the Divine essence and achieves *fanā*:²

Of all the Ṣūfī terms the most controversial is *fanā* (annihilation or passing away). Šaiyid 'Alī does not give any explanation of the term. However, Hujwīrī says that Abu Sa'īd Kharrāz (d. between 279/892 and 286/899) was first to invent the terms *fanā* and *baqā* (subsistence).³ Hujwīrī quotes the following definition of *fanā* as given by Kharrāz: "Annihilation [*fanā*] is annihilation of consciousness of manhood (*'ubūdiyyat*), and subsistence [*baqā*] is subsistence in the contemplation of Godhead (*ilāhiyyat*)".⁴

Collating the various definitions of *fanā* given by Ṣūfī scholars who preceded Hujwīrī, he sums up: "annihilation comes to a man through vision of the majesty of God and through the revelation of Divine omnipotence to his heart, so that in the overwhelming sense of His majesty this

1. Ibid.

2. *K.H.*, f. 232b.

3. *Kashf.*, p. 242. See also A.J. Arberry, *Muslim Saints and Mystics*, p. 219.

4. *Kashf.*, p. 245.

world and the next world obliterated from his mind, and 'states' and 'stations' appear contemptible in the sight of his aspiring thought, and what is shown to him of miraculous grace vanishes into nothing : he becomes dead to reason and passion alike, dead even to annihilation itself ; and in that annihilation of annihilation his tongue proclaims God, and his mind and body are humble and abased, as in the beginning when Adam's posterity were drawn forth from his loins without admixture of evil and took the pledge of servanthship to God (Kor. VII, 171)".¹

This is the definition which was propounded by Junaid, who believed in the doctrine of *ṣaḥw* (sobriety).² But according to Bāyazīd, who indulged in *sukr* (ecstatic drunkenness or intoxication), *fanā* amounts to shedding one's ego "as snakes their skin". In this state man loses his self consciousness and begins to make remarks such as "Glory be to me. How great is my majesty !"; "Thy obedience to me is greater than my obedience to Thee"; "I am the Throne and the Footstool"; "I saw the Kaba walking round me"; and so on.³

The third view was set forth by Ibn 'Arabī, who believed in the unity of Being. According to him in the state of *fanā* the Ṣūfī loses sight of the creature and witnesses only the Absolute. Thus the people who witness the Absolute in the creatures and the creatures in the Absolute are believed to have attained the stage of *fanā* and *baqā* in Ibn 'Arabī's terminology.⁴

Saiyid 'Alī devotes an entire treatise entitled *Risāla-i-Dah Qā'ida*, to the contemplative life. The ways to God, he writes, are as numerous as men themselves, but they can be consolidated into three different paths.⁵ The first is the *rāh-i-arbāb-i-*

1. *Kashf.*, p. 246.

2. Cf. A. Kader, *Al-Junayd*, pp. 81 ff...

3. H. Ritter's article on Bāyazīd in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (new edition), I, pp. 162-3.

4. Cf. Henry Corbin, *L'Imagination creatrice dans le Soufisme d'Ibn 'Arabī*, Eng. Tr., Ralph Manheim (*Creative Imagination in the Sūfism of Ibn 'Arabī*), pp. 203-4, 212 and 228.

5. *R.D.Q.*, f. 134a.

mu'amlāt (the path of those who observe only external rules of the religion). This road is traversed by common Muslims, who perform only the obligatory duties prescribed by the religion and is a means for their salvation. But *wiṣāl-i-ḥaqīqī* (real union), Saiyid 'Alī points out, cannot be obtained by performing such external devotion.¹

The second road is that of *arbāb-i-mujāhada* (those who undergo self mortification) and is traversed by the *abrār*, the righteous ones of the community, also called by the Saiyid the *muqtaṣidān* (those who follow the middle path). The basic principle of this path is to wean the *nafs* from evil.²

The third path is followed by the *sā'irān-i-ḥazrat-i-ṣamdiat* (travellers to the court of the Most High). This is the most perfect and the noblest of all the paths, and is based on "killing one's own will," as the Prophet has said: "Die before you die."³ Those who traverse this path attach themselves to the Eternal and soar high in the space of *lāḥūt*,⁴ the last stage of the mystic journey.

To attain this highest path, Saiyid 'Alī, in common with other Ṣūfī authors,⁵ prescribes the following ten rules:⁶

1. *Tauba*
2. *Zuhd*
3. *Tawakkul*
4. *Qanā'at*

1. *RD. a. f. 134.*

2. *Ibid.*

3. This is attributed by the Ṣūfīs to the Prophet as evidence in support of their claim to have inherited his "esoteric doctrine"; Cf. Nicholson, *Rūmī Poet and Mystic*, p. 131n.

4. *R.D.Q.*, f. 134a-b.

5. Cf. Al-Sarrāj, *Kitābu'l-Luma'*; Ghazālī, *Ihya*; Suhrawardī, *'Awārifu'l-Ma'ārif*.

However, they were not always uniform in the number. For example, Al-Sarrāj gives only seven stages (cf. *Kitābu'l-Luma'*, pp. 43 ff.). Ghazālī and Suhrawardī both give ten stages; cf. *Ihya*, IV, pp. 3ff.; *'Awārifu'l-Ma'ārif*, IV, pp. 335ff.

6. *R.D.Q.*, f. 134b.

5. 'Uzlat
6. Zikr
7. Tawajjuh
8. Šabr
9. Murāqaba
10. Rizā

Tauba means to "return" and in Šūfī terminology it stands for repentance. The Šūfīs are divided among themselves on the nature of the *tauba*. According to Zu'l-Nūn M'iṣrī (d. 246/861), *tauba* for ordinary men is to repent of their sins and for Šūfīs it means to repent of their "heedlessness."¹ Abū Ḥafṣ Hadād (d. 265/879) believes that repentance is God's gift and cannot be acquired by human effort.²

Saiyid 'Alī believes that *tauba* is an act by which man can return to God, and prescribes two ways to do so. The one is when one dies, but it is involuntary, as one has no control over death. The other is by making a conscious effort, giving up voluntarily all those things which keep one away from God. Thus for the seeker after Truth all thoughts of the visible and the invisible world are sins.³

Zuhd or renunciation demands the voluntary abandonment even of permitted indulgence. Saiyid 'Alī's *zuhd* is even more puritanical. According to him not only should the world and worldly objects and honours be given up, but even the desire for these should be renounced.

Comparing this to the state when one dies and leaves behind all the desires, Saiyid 'Alī urges that Šūfī who wishes to tread on the highest path must renounce even desire for objects relating to the next world.⁴

Tawakkul or trust in God demands, the Saiyid writes, that the traveller on the spiritual path should entrust himself and all his ways and works to God in a spirit of complete and unqualified trust.⁵

1. Cf. *Kashf*, p. 298.

2. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 299.

3. *R.D.Q.*, f. 135a.

4. *R.D.Q.*, ff. 135b-136a.

5. *Ibid.*, f. 136a.

Qanā'at or resignation, according to Saiyid 'Alī, is an act of "stripping oneself of the garments of worldly and beastly desires." The seeker after Truth must accept only what is necessary to maintain his existence.¹

'*Uzlat*, literally means "retirement" or "seclusion." The Ṣūfīs hold two different opinions about the nature of '*uzlat*. To some,² it means complete retirement from the world and worldly people; while others³ believe that this type of solitude exposes the self to increasingly more Satanic suggestions. The latter advocate inner seclusion and what they call the enjoyment of solitude while in assembly.

Saiyid 'Alī does not reject or accept either of the above views. He divides '*uzlat* in two stages. In the first stage, according to the Saiyid, the seeker must turn his back on mankind and keep himself away from the people. He must sever all ties, outward, and inward, except relations with his guide, who purifies his heart and mind as the *ghasāl* (one who washes the corpse) washes the dead body. This type of '*uzlat*, comparing the seeker to a patient, he says, serves the needs of *parhez* (lit. abstinence). As *parhez* removes all undesirable matters from the body of a sick man, the retirement from the world purifies and removes traces of "other than God" from his heart and mind.

In its higher aspect, the second stage of '*uzlat*, according to Saiyid 'Alī, is to divert the senses from the forbidden to the lawful. In this state a person, although he lives among the people, is isolated and severed from the rest of mankind⁴.

Ẓikr, the literal meaning of which is "recollection" or "remembrance", is used by the Ṣūfīs especially for remembrance or praise of God. *Ẓikr*, Saiyid 'Alī writes, is the conscious recollection of God, to the exclusion of all that is "other than God".⁵ The most excellent *ẓikr*, the Saiyid believes, is

1. R. D. Q.

2. Cf. *Kashf*., p. 103.

3. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 72, 190 and 338.

4. R. D. Q., f. 135a-b.

5. R. D. Q., f. 135b.

lā ilahā illā 'l-lāh ("there is no god but God").¹ It is a spiritual medicine, he says, composed of both negative and positive elements. *Lā ilāha* is the negative element of the *zīkr*, it purifies the self from evil such as jealousy, pride, greed and hypocrisy. Each of these evils, according to Saiyid 'Alī, is a chain for the soul, and sickness of the heart. *Lā ilāha* cuts off the chain and purifies the heart, which is the dwelling place of God.²

The affirmation *illā 'l-lāh*, the positive element, makes the heart healthy and protects it from evil dispositions. "It directs self to piety. The effulgence of the light of unity (*nūr-i-wahdat*) dispels the darkness of plurality, it makes the soul, the ruler, the deputy of God, manifest itself on the throne of firm belief in the Divine beauty and enables the body to brighten itself with the light of the guidance of that Beauty."³

When the *zīkr* obtains complete domination over the heart of the *zākir* (one who recites *zīkr*), "the vestiges of the maginary existence of the *zākir*⁴ begin to search through the rays of the sun of *wujūd* (Being). The dust of the adversity of existence (of the *zākir*) and *zīkr* are destroyed. The Beauty of the *mazkūr* (object of meditation, God); manifests itself in the person of the *zākir* and confirms the Divine promise.⁵ "If you look towards Me, I shall look towards you."⁶ This is the highest stage or the goal for which the Sūfī strives. Here the *zīkr* is obliterated and the beauty of the *mazkūr* (God) manifests itself in the being of the *zākir*.⁷

In another treatise, entitled *Risāla-i-Zikrīya*, Saiyid 'Alī categorically rejects the *zīkr-i-jahr* (*zīkr* recited aloud or outwardly), and recommends only *zīkr-i-khafī* (*zīkr* recited silently or inwardly).⁸ On the basis of certain verses of the

1. R.Z., f. 285a.

2. R.D.Q., ff. 135b-136a.

3. Ibid., f. 136a.

4. "rusūm-i-wujūd-i-mauhūm-i-zākir."

5. Qur'ān, 57:4.

6. R.D.Q., f. 136a.

7. Ibid., f. 136a.

8. R.Z., f. 283a.

Qur'ān¹ and injunctions of *ḥadīs*, the Saiyid pleads that *zikr-i-khafī* is a superior way of reciting the name of God. It is more respectful and leads the seeker to God in a most befitting manner.²

Tawajjuh, literally means "attention" or "concentration." The Ṣūfis define the term as turning oneself devoutly to God in such a way that one loses one's self-consciousness in search of God.³ Saiyid 'Alī too says that *tawajjuh* means to turn to God entirely. When one is diverting one's attention to God, he writes, one's thoughts should be completely absorbed in Him, and should not be distracted by things other than God. Even if the stages attained by all the great saints (*muqarrabān*) were told he should not pay attention to them.⁴ The Saiyid, quoting Junaid, approvingly that if a true seeker treads on the path to God for thousands of years and shows negligence for a single moment, he loses all those blessings earned during a thousand odd years.⁵

Ṣabr, which means "patience" is mentioned in the Qur'ān in many places and a patient man is highly praised.⁶ The Ṣūfis too regard it as a noble stage on the path to God.⁷ According to Saiyid 'Alī patience is the basis of all worship. In the real sense of the term, he continues, it means to subdue one's carnal self, and to inculcate love for God's worship, and firmness in *mujāhada*. Through mortification the carnal self is purified. If all connections with worldly objects, which are attractive to everyone, are severed the soul is brightened, but this can be achieved only through *ṣabr*.⁸

1. Cf. 7:55; 49:2.

2. *R.Ṣ.*, f. 286a.

3. "Concentration [*tawajjuh*]", says Abū Bakr Kallābhadi, means that they [the Ṣūfis] are absent from being present (in this world), and from regarding themselves as self-determining...."

Kitābu'l-Ta'aruf li Mazhab ahl al-Taṣawwuf, Eng. Tr. Arberry, (*The Doctrine of the Ṣūfis*), p. 127.

4. *R.D.Q.*, f. 136b.

5. *Ibid.*

6. Qur'ān, 8:46; 11:11.

7. Cf. *Kitābu'l-Luma'*, p. 39; *Ihya*, IV, p. 61.

8. *R.D.Q.*, ff. 136b-137a.

Saiyid 'Alī considers a true Ṣūfī to be one who meets trials and affliction with a smiling face. In another treatise, *Maqāmatu'l-Ṣūfiya*, he writes: "Even if the Ṣūfī suffers from the calamities of both the visible and invisible worlds, he should not utter a sigh (in grief). And if he is subjected to the hardship of both worlds, he should accept them patiently."¹

Murāqaba, literally means "contemplation." In its real sense, Saiyid 'Alī says, it amounts to giving up all authority and activity over which the seeker has control. It is an instrument in the hands of Ṣūfis, he goes on, through which they try to achieve their goal and concentrate on nothing else but God. Purifying their hearts and souls, they await the Divine grace. They swim in the ocean of Divine unity and make themselves the moth of the lamp of Divine beauty. Their heart kindles through the light of Divine contemplation. They abandon the dark lane, which leads to an ephemeral goal, and travel on the wide lane of the Divine light.²

The literal meaning of the term *rizā* is "to be pleased." It is the last of the stages and denotes a condition in which the seeker is always pleased with whatever befalls him.³ Some Ṣūfis believe it to be *ḥāl*⁴ (state) and some a *maqām* (stage).⁵

Saiyid 'Alī, like Sarrāj⁶ and Ghazālī,⁷ regards it as a

1. *Maqāmatu'l-Ṣūfiya*, f. 275b.

2. *R.D.Q.*, f. 137a-b.

3. Cf. Nicholson, *Mystics of Islam*, p. 41.

4. *Maqām* and *ḥāl* differ in their meaning. *Maqām* is that which one acquires oneself and *ḥāl* on the other hand represents a gift of Divine grace, over which one has no control. "Station [*maqām*]", says Hujwiri, "belongs to the category of acts, 'state' [*ḥāl*] to the category of gifts"; *Kashf*, p. 181.

5. According to Qushairī, the mystic scholars of *Khurāsān* hold that *rizā* is a *maqām*, and the 'Irāqī school on the other hand took it to be a *ḥāl* (cf. A. J. Arberry, *Sufism*, p. 77). But according to Hujwiri the doctrine attributed by Qushairī to the *Khurāsānis* was also held by the 'Irāqīs and vice versa; cf. *Kashf*, pp. 176-7.

6. Cf. *Kitābu'l-Luma'*, p. 53.

7. Cf. *Ihya*, IV, p. 333.

maqām and says that it is the highest of all the stages. *Rizā*, he writes, is that Ṣūfīs should stop taking interest in themselves in order to gain the satisfaction of the beloved (*mahbūb*, i.e., God). Whatever the Ṣūfīs wish to attain by their individual efforts, the Saiyid continues, is invariably of a mean and low order. But when they think no more of their own plans and entrust the great works to the Great One, they begin to receive limitless grace and start to shine with the the Divine light and fly into the wide expanse of *lāhūt*.¹

The Ṣūfī scholars divided the saints into a hierarchy commensurate with their attainments and progress in the path of devotion to God. The hierarchy of the saints described by the Hujwīrī is interlinked. On the basis of some Qur'ānic verses,² Hujwīrī asserts that the saints are the chosen ones of God, whom "He has specially distinguished by His friendship."³ However, he divides them broadly into two categories, "the governors of the universe" through whose blessings "the rain falls from heaven, and through the purity of their lives the plants spring up from the earth...." Their number, he says, is four thousand and they are "concealed and do not know one another and are not aware of the excellence of their state..."⁴

The second category belong to those "who have power to loose and to bind and are the officers of the Divine Court. There are three hundred, called *Akhyār*, and forty, called *Abdāl*, and seven, called *Abrār*, and four, called *Awtād*, and three, called *Nuqabā*, and one, called *Qutb* or *Gowth*. All these know one another and cannot act save by mutual consent".⁵

The categories made by Saiyid 'Alī are not so closely interlinked, but his description gives an understanding of his

1. *R.D.Q.*, ff. 137b-138a.

2. Cf. 2:257; 10:62.

3. *Kashf*., p. 212.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 213.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 214.

approach to Sufism. He divides the saints into the following two categories:¹

1. *Muqtaṣidān* (those who follow a moderate course).
2. *Sābiqān-i-ṣafūf-i-wilāyat* (leaders of the ranks of sainthood).

Before proceeding to describe these categories, Saiyid 'Alī asserts that God created man in order to manifest His great mystery. He endowed man with reason and faith, so that he might select for himself the ideal path. But, the Saiyid points out, the overwhelming majority of men did not accept the guidance of their reason or faith and adopted paths which made them cruel, obstinate, stubborn and negligent. In fact they were misled by their carnal self and only a few were able to follow the right path of reason and faith. Those who deviated from the right path were not able to reach their goal, and did not fulfil the objective for which they were created. But the *muqtaṣidān* and *sābiqān-i-ṣafūf-i-wilāyat*, he goes on to say, did comply with conditions which were responsible for their creation.²

The *Muqtaṣidān* are those, Saiyid 'Alī adds, who tread on the right path. They are the people who succeed in crushing the beastly elements in their nature, and seek to lead a pure and pious life. They overcome the difficulties and afflictions of the worldly life. This, he says, is a real *jihād* (effort, struggle), in the way to God. Those who fight this *jihād*, the Qur'ān³ addresses thus: "Fear not, nor be grieved, and receive good news of the Garden which you were promised".⁴

Above them is the category of *sābiqān-i-ṣafūf-i-wilāyat*. They are the people who are not engrossed in the darkness of *nāṣūt*, and have found a place in the wide expanse of *lāhūt*. They consume their moth-like imaginary existence with the light of the lamp of Divine Majesty. By annihilating their ephemeral existence they find an everlasting life with

1. R.Ṣ., f. 280b.

2. Ibid., ff. 280b-281a.

3. 41:30.

4. R.Ṣ., f. 281a.

Divine Majesty.¹

In a different treatise called the *Risāla-i-Futūḥiyya*, Saiyid 'Alī mentions a category of the Ṣūfīs known as *maqbulān* (accepted ones),² and further sub-divides them into two groups: *muqarrabān* and *abrār*.

The *muqarrabān*, he writes, are the travellers on the path of *ṭarīqa* and the soldiers of the battle field of *ḥaqīqa*. They do not pollute their spirit with all that is transitory and do not bother themselves with the problems of space and time. They direct their energies and ideas to the Unattainable (God). They subdue their reason, control their carnal self and the lusts and desires of both worlds.³

They withdraw themselves from all created beings, kill their consciousness and yearn for nothing but to find an everlasting existence in the ocean of Divine unity. They are not concerned with subtleties of the nature of *wujūd* or hair-splitting doctrines related to it and try to see God through God. They pass through the narrow world of *'ubūdīya* (servitude) and fly into the world of *ḥuwiyya* (Divine essence). Sometimes the horse of their yearning gallops in the plains of Divine love; often it is melted in the plain of *shuhūd* (visible world); through the light of the sun of unity (*aḥdīya*). The existence of created beings depends upon them. The light of their mysteries kindles the lamp of the assembly of all the spiritually minded.

The *muqarrabān*, as envisaged by Saiyid 'Alī, are no other than those whom Ibn 'Arabi calls 'Perfect Men';⁴ through them God manifests Himself to all created beings. Thus Saiyid 'Alī, without quoting Ibn 'Arabi direct, reiterates his ideas with a veneer of orthodoxy.

The *abrār*, the second group of *maqbulān*, are further sub-divided by Saiyid 'Alī into two classes:⁵

1. R.Z. f. 281a-b.

2. R.F., f. 257a.

3. Ibid., f. 257a-b.

4. Ibid., f. 257.b.

5. Cf. Corbin, *Creative Imagination in the Sufism of Ibn 'Arabi*, pp. 131ff.

6. R.F., ff. 257b-258a.

1. Those who are devoted to the service of mankind and are known as *ahl-i-futūwat* (bountiful).

2. Those who are so devoted to God that they have no concern with worldly people.

The second class of *abrār* is again sub-divided by the Saiyid into two : *wālihān-i-tarīqa*¹ (lit. astonished ones of the path of *tarīqa*) or *maslūb'l-'aql*² (bereft of reason); and *zāhidān*³ (ascetics) or *zū 'aql*⁴ (endowed with reason).

The *wālihān-i-tarīqa* are bewildered with Divine love, they have no control over their senses and reason, and they drown themselves in the ocean of Divine unity. They are not even able to perform the obligatory prayers. Such people, Saiyid 'Alī writes, should neither be followed nor rejected.⁵

The *Zāhidān*, guided by reason, are convinced that the world is contemptible and is full of deceit and evil. Realising that worldly goods are associated with thousands of calamities and misfortunes, they voluntarily give up all pleasures and enjoyment and spend their lives in acts of devotion of all kinds. Although they appear to be feeble, spiritually they are strong and prosperous.⁶

The *ahl-i-futūwat* consist of those whose hearts are full of kindness and compassion for others. Their existence is the source of comfort for mankind. They spend their lives and wealth in treating their fellow-men kindly and generously.⁷

Saiyid 'Alī quotes the sayings of various Ṣūfīs about the nature and qualities of *ahl-i-futūwat*. Ḥasan Baṣrī (21-110/641-728), he writes, has said that those who are the enemies of their carnal self belong to the *ahl-i-futūwat*. Faṣīl 'Abbās (Fuzail 'Iyāz, d.187/802), remarked that the *ahl-i-futūwat* are those who are kind and distribute their wealth to the people indiscriminately to friend and foe, or believer and non-believer. Yaḥyā

1. R.F., f. 258a.

2. Ms. C., f. 289a.

3. R.F., f. 258a.

4. Ms. C., f. 289a.

5. R.F., f. 258a.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

ibn Ma'āz (d. 258/871), believed that the *ahl-i-futūwat* have three virtues : they are pious, honest and loyal to their friends.¹

However, Saiyid 'Alī, on the authority of the Caliph 'Alī, asserts that the main pillars of *futūwat* are four:²

1. To forgive despite power to wreak vengeance.
2. To exhibit patience in anger.
3. To wish well even to an enemy.
4. To prefer the needs of others to one's own.

One who has these four qualities and at the same time devotes himself to God, the Saiyid says, is called *akhī* (lit. brother).³ However, he adds that in the Šūfī parlance the term is used in three different senses : 'ām (common people), *khāṣ* (elect ones), and *akhaṣ* (choicest among the elect).⁴

The common people use the term in its literal meaning. Those who have the same father or mother call one another brother. It is customary for them to call someone else brother, but in fact they never count him as such.⁵

To the category of *khāṣ* belong the 'ulamā and the excellent believers who are above hypocrisy and the usual customs. They use the term in its ideal meaning (*naṣb-i-ḥaqīqī*) and in accordance with the Qur'ānic⁶ injunction "The believers are brethren," they take every Muslim as their brother.⁷

The *akhaṣ* include the *arbāb-i-qalūb* and *ahl-i-taḥqīq*, who use the term *akhī* in its technical sense (*iṣtlāḥī*). They call one of their disciples *akhī* if they notice in him the qualities of *ahl-i-futūwat* and religious and spiritual knowledge.⁸ But, Saiyid 'Alī adds, such a person should not miss a single *sunna* of the Prophet and should have no regard for this world.⁹ At the same

1. R.F., ff. 255b-256a.

2. Ibid., f. 256b.

3. Ibid., f. 261a.

4. Ibid., f. 255a.

5. Ibid.

6. 49:10.

7. R.F., f. 255a.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid., f. 256a.

time he should mix with all people, but in spirit he should be away from them, busy in His adoration.¹ He should be a man of laudable character, his manners full of virtue, respectful to his elders, an adviser to those of his own age, affectionate to those younger than himself, kind to the weak, generous to the poor, modest and humble to scholars, an enemy of the unjust, loving to those in distress, at war with his *nafs*, but at peace with people.²

Such a person, Saiyid 'Alī points out, will eventually be appointed by the Shaikh (guide) as his *khalifa* or successor and invested with a *khirqa* (cloak), which he calls *khil'at-i-faqr* (the robe of piety).³ The *khirqa* was a certificate indicating the perfection reached by its recipient.

Saiyid 'Alī, like all other Sūfīs, writes that no one can travel on the path to God without the guidance of a preceptor who is duly authorised to initiate disciples.⁴ Knowledge acquired by personal effort is of no avail.⁵ Unless an individual acquires even an external knowledge under a teacher, his discourses cannot be accepted and his judgement cannot be trusted although he may be quite intelligent and well-read. The same is the case, the Saiyid argues, with those who pursue the path of the *tarīqa*. An individual might perform ascetic exercises and mortifications for hundreds of years, but this would be of no use unless he serves a man expert in the *tarīqa*. Saiyid 'Alī writes that the Prophet Muḥammad imbued 'Alī, the commander of the faithful, with it and the chain of all living saints (guides) goes back to him. This is the secret of the *tarīqa* and the *silṣila*.⁶

In another treatise, called *Risāla-i-Darweshīya*, Saiyid 'Alī asserts that religious and spiritual guidance is a very specialised

1. R.F., f. 256b.

2. Ibid., f. 261a-b.

3. Ibid., f. 255a.

4. Ghazālī held that one who has no *pīr* to guide him will be led from the true path by Satan; cf. *K.Sa.*, p. 268.

5. Hujwiri called such people "ignorant pretenders;" *Kashf.*, p. 17.

R.F., f. 255a.

subject. Without the protection of a perfect and experienced person, he believes, no one can transcend the bondage and darkness of desires.¹ The essential realities of all devotions, he writes, are only known to the prophets, physicians of the faith, the saints, the holy ones of the path of the *ṭarīqā* and the *ʿulamā*.² They are endowed with knowledge and teach the disciples according to their capacity and prescribe remedies suitable to the spiritual ailments and the diseases of heart. He illustrates his point through the example of worldly physicians and says that although the medicines might be innumerable, only a particular medicine is prescribed for a particular disease in accordance with the nature of the disease, which is known only to the physicians. The same is the case with the Sūfī path, although the forms of devotion are innumerable and all of them are true, the particular disease of the heart of a devotee can be cured only through a particular devotion. He reminds his readers that the remedies of the sickness of heart are known only to the prophets, saints, religious scholars and the physicians of the faith.³

Saiyid ʿAlī warns that the teachers for the acquisition of different types of religious knowledge should be selected with care, the reason being that a large number of scholars have emerged in all parts of the Islamic world who call their frivolous disputes *kalām* (scholastic theology). They think senseless logic and vain talk to be philosophy. They pursue knowledge in order to again fame but in fact they are not acquainted with the realities of religion. They ignore the teachings of the Qurʾān and *sunna* and do not care for the subtle points of Divine knowledge, and thus they misguide people.⁴

Because of such teachers, Saiyid ʿAlī continues, people have deviated from the real path of religion and are in-

1. Ghazālī had already declared that the gains from the errors of the *ṭīr* were greater than what the disciple would gain on his own, even if he was right; cf. *K. Sa.* p. 268.

2. *R. Dr.*, f. 249b.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*, f. 251a-b.

dulging in heresy and infidelity. They are instruments for corrupting the open road to *sharī'a*. Such people pose themselves as 'alims and Ṣūfīs and in that garb they propagate *kufṛ*. The world is full of such people. Thus, he urges, that only those 'alims should be selected for obtaining religious knowledge, who are not hypocrites but are endowed with piety and righteousness.¹

By making obedience to the Divine command and suppression of carnal desires a precondition of true Islam, Saiyid 'Alī raises the true 'alīm to the status of a Ṣūfī. Distinguishing between *īmān* (faith) and Islam, he says that salvation is obtained through *īmān* and religious and worldly prosperity are gained through Islam.²

Pillars of Islam

Most of Saiyid 'Alī's works, especially the *Risāla-i-I'tiqādiyya* and sections in the *Zakhīratu'l-Mulūk*, are devoted to the exposition of the pillars of Islam.³ In the very first pages of the *Zakhīratu'l-Mulūk*, Saiyid 'Alī poses the question whether Islam is identical with *īmān*. This question has remained a subject of hot controversy among Muslim scholars.⁴ Its material was provided by the Qur'ān⁵ and *ḥadīṣ*,⁶ both of which used Islam and *īmān* as "different terms of different meaning, and as related terms the one being a part of the other".⁷

1. *R.Dr.*, f. 251b.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *īmān* (faith), *ṣalāt* or *namāz* (prayer), *ṣaum* or *roza* (fast), *zakāt* and *ṣadaqa* (alms) and *ḥajj* (pilgrimage).

4. According to Ash'arī: "Islam is more extensive than faith, and...the whole of Islam is not faith" (*Ibnā' on Uṣūlu'l-Diyāna*, Eng. Tr., by R.J. McCarthy, *The Theology of Al-Ash'arī* p. 243). Again in *Mcqōlātu'l-Islāmiyyin* (Eng. Tr., R.J. McCarthy, op. cit., p. 243), he asserts that Islam is other than faith.

Ghazālī like Hujwērī (cf. *Kashf.*, p. 268), says that *īmān* means acceptance [of the beliefs] and Islam, he says, is submission and surrender to God; cf. Nabih Amīn Faris, *The Foundations of the Articles of Faith*, p. 100.

5. In verses 51:35-6, both the terms are used synonymously and in 49:41, as terms of different meaning.

6. Cf. M. 'Alī, *A Manual of Hadīth*, pp. 23-4.

7. Faris, op. cit., p. 100.

Saiyid 'Alī bases his theory on a well known *ḥadīs*, which sets up a distinction between *īmān* and Islam. It says *īmān* consists in believing in God, His angels, His books, His prophets and predestination. Islam is the worship of God without associating anything with Him and the belief in the prophethood of Muḥammad. Islam urges its followers to say prayers (five times daily), to observe the fast (in the month of Ramaḡān), to pay the *Ṣakāt*, and to perform the pilgrimage.¹

From this Saiyid 'Alī concludes that Islam is not identical with *īmān*. *īmān* indicates the acceptance of the religion and Islām demands the performance of duties associated with the religion.² As an Ash'arite,³ he holds that *īmān* is the attestation by heart of its principles, but perfect *īmān*, he states, is that which secures one freedom from hell-fire and brings one near to God.⁴

One who affirms the principles of *īmān* in words alone and not with his heart, according to Saiyid 'Alī, is a *munāfiq* (hypocrite) and he is worse than a *kāfir* (heretic).⁵ This is an

1. *Ṣ.M.*, pp. 3-4. This *ḥadīs* itself occurs in different forms. Muḥammad bin Ismā'il al-Bukhārī reports it on the authority of Abū Ḥurairāh and Abu'l-Ḥusain on 'Umar's authority. In 'Umar's version Islam includes also the pilgrimage (cf. Fazlul-Karim, *Al-Ḥadīṣ*, I, pp. 94-6). But this is omitted in Ḥurairāh's version (cf. M. 'Alī, *A Manual of Ḥadīth*, p. 22). And the latter, in describing *īmān* says that the Prophet has said : "in meeting with Him", instead of belief in "predestination" as reported by the former.
2. *Ṣ.M.*, pp. 4-5.
3. Ash'arī also maintains that faith is the attestation of its principles by heart; cf. Qushairī, *Risāla*, Urdu, Tr., Muḥammad Ḥusain, p. 31.
4. *Ṣ.M.*, p. 5.
5. *Ibid.*

The Murji'ites (a sect of Muslims who believe that the judgement of every true believer, who has been guilty of a grievous sin, will be deferred till the Resurrection), did not declare a person infidel, because of the fact that he was nominally a Muslim. Faris, *The Foundations of the Articles of Faith*, p. 109, n. 1.

According to Qushairī, it is by verbal profession that one can differentiate between a believer and a disbeliever. And for those who do not believe that *īmān* is simply a verbal profession it is difficult to make a difference between a believer and an unbeliever, cf. *Risāla*, p. 30.

extreme Sūfī view for both Qushairī¹ and Ghazālī² give the benefit of the doubt to such a person and accept him as a member of the Muslim community, on the grounds that no one except God and the person concerned know the reality of the innermost heart, as will

Those who affirm by tongue and attest by heart, the Saiyid continues, yet fail to act upon their beliefs, are *fāsiq* (reprobate),³ and are destined to remain in hell for a period commensurate with their sins. The period may extend from a moment to seventy thousand years.⁴

Like all Muslim scholars, Saiyid Ali lays great stress on *ṣalāt* or *namāz*, (prayer). He pleads that it should hold precedence over all other acts of devotion.⁵ But the key to prayer, the Saiyid writes, is purification,⁶ which is of three kinds—firstly of the clothes and body, secondly of the *nafs* (lower soul), and thirdly of the heart.⁷

He who does not purify his body and clothes prior to prayer, the Saiyid asserts, is *najis* (unclean) according to the *ahl-i sharī'a* (the followers of the law, i.e., theologians). Obviously this concerns common Muslims. The other two kinds of purification can be achieved only by travellers on the spiritual path. The *ahl-i tarīqa* (Sūfīs), the Saiyid says, consider those who do not purify their *nafs* as *najis*; and *ahl-i kashf wa taḥqīq* (men who have received revelation, i.e., advanced Sūfīs) think that one is *najis* unless one purifies one's heart from everything other than God.⁸

1. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 31-2.

2. Cf. Faris, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

3. Ghazālī calls *fāsiq* one who, besides having inward adherence and verbal confession, also performs some of the acts prescribed by the religion; cf. Faris, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

4. *Z. M.*, p. 5.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

6. The Prophet is also reported to have said that the key to paradise is prayer and the key to prayer is purification; cf. *M. Ali, A Manual of Hadith*, p. 42.

7. *R. V.*, f. 246a.

8. *Ibid.*, f. 246a.

Elsewhere, Saiyid 'Alī classifies the purification of the travellers of the spiritual path into three categories. The first, he says, are *abrār*, who cleanse all parts of their body from sin, the second are *sālikān* (devotees), who purify the *nafs* from evil and the third are *ṣidīqān*, who cleanse their hearts from everything except God.¹

Thus Saiyid 'Alī, like other Muslim scholars, holds purification to be a necessary preliminary to prayer. He is critical of the prayer offered by the common Muslims, who, in his opinion, do not understand the essence of prayer. They pray with lips² alone and face the *qibla* mechanically.³

The real meaning of prayer, he goes on to say, can be understood only by *arbāb-i-qulūb*, who, while going to pray, banish all desires from their minds and purify their hearts from any thoughts but those of God.⁴ They face the real *qibla*, that is God. And when they recite *subḥānaka allāhumma* ("May you be exalted, O Almighty God"), they fly into the world of sanctity (*'alam-i-taqaddus*).⁵

Prayer, Saiyid 'Alī says, connects the creature with the Creator, and is a medium through which man can approach God.⁶ The real meaning of prayer, he writes, is *munājāt* (invocation)⁷, which is impossible without concentration.

1. *Z.M.*, p. 27.

2. Cf. *Qur'ān*, 4:142.

3. *R.M.*, f. 163a; *R.F.*, f. 258b.

Jalāu'd-Dīn Tabrizī (one of the disciples of Shaiḥ Shihābu'd-Dīn Suhrawardī) is reported to have said to the governor of Badāūn, Qazī Jamālu'd-Dīn Ja'frī, that the prayer of the *'ulamā* is different from that of the saints, who do not perform prayer unless they see *'arsh* (lit. the throne of God), whereas the *'ulamā* pray just by facing towards the Ka'ba; *fawā'idul-Fu'ād*, p. 249.

4. *R.M.*, f. 163a-b; *R.F.*, f. 258b; *Z.M.*, p. 27.

5. *Ibid.*, f. 163b; *ibid.*, f. 259a; *ibid.*, p. 27.

6. *R.F.*, f. 259a.

7. *Munājāt* is v.n. of *najī*, which means "secret discourse between two persons or parties" (cf. E.W. Lane, *An Arabic English Lexicon*, p. 3028. See also pp. 2764-5). The Prophet is reported to have said that when a person is engaged in prayer he is in intimate converse with his Lord; Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, 39, cited by Constance E. Padwick, *Muslim Devotions*, p. 11.

Indeed *munājāt* means *mukhataba* (conversation) and a true conversation can be held only by an 'arif, who would have attained the degree of perfection.¹

Saiyid 'Alī asserts that fasting is compulsory for every Muslim, whether rich or poor, although the poor are relieved from the obligation of *zakāt* and *hajj*, two of the other five principles of Islam.²

Fasting he writes, includes six things as *farz* ("an ordinance of God") and seven as *sunna* ("what the Prophet did himself or what he told his followers to do").³ As a Sunni 'ālim, he insists that the fast must be broken immediately when the sun sets⁴ and not, like the Shī'īs, when it is completely dark.

The common Muslims, in his opinion, observe the fasting of the lowest degree, since they act upon the minimum external rules demanded by the religion.⁵ As a Ṣūfī, he believes that fasting is not only abstaining from eating and drinking from dawn to sunset, but purifying the carnal self (*tazkiya-i-nafs*). The merit of fasting, he writes, is that through it a man can control his passions and cultivate the habit of abstaining from evil. Fasting closes the door upon Satan. It kills the concupiscence of *nafs-i-amṡāra* (inordinate appetite), which is the enemy of one's faith; and subdues the passions and the sensual forces. Fasting purifies and illuminates the mirror of the heart and prepares it for *mujāhada* (self-mortification). The carnal-self, the Saiyid goes on, is always under attack from the devil. Only fasting can save it from the devil, and fasting will also restrain passions and sins.⁶

However, Saiyid 'Alī asserts that even travellers on the path of God do not fulfil the conditions of the fast alike, and he divides them into two categories. To the first category

1. *R.F.*, f. 259b; *R.M.*, f. 163a.

2. *Ṣ.M.*, p. 5; *R.I.*, f. 248b.

3. *Ibid.*, f. 248b.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ṣ.M.*, p. 51.

Hujwīrī calls this type of fasting "child's play"; *Kashf.*, p. 322.

6. *Ṣ.M.*, p. 47.

belong the *ṣidīqān* and *muq arrabān*. They purify the heart and expel from it any thought other than that of God. They detach themselves from all worldly ties and consider it the greatest sin to think of either this world or the next.

The *abrār*, *atqiyā'* (devout), and *ṣulḥā* (pious) belong to the second category. Besides following the basic precepts, prescribed by the religion, they abstain from all evil and falsehood. Even their eyes, ears, hands and feet observe the fast. They take special care to control their eyes which transmit sensations and feelings to other members of the body.¹

Zakāt literally means "purification", in Islam the term is used in the sense of a contribution of two and one half per cent of certain categories of property for the use of the poor and needy, as a means of purifying the remainder.²

Like all Ṣūfīs Saiyid 'Alī divides devotion into two categories: *badanī* (relating to the body, i.e., prayer and fasting), and *mā'ī* (connected with wealth). Since the common people cannot adore God adequately through bodily devotion, the Saiyid writes, they must therefore seek His pleasure by spending their wealth on those of their fellow men who are poor and in distress.³

As people find it difficult to part with their wealth, Saiyid 'Alī regards payment of *zakāt* as one of the most important tests of a believer's devotion.⁴ He recommends that it be paid at once on becoming due. Although he sees haste in other matters such as prayer, inadvisable,⁵ with *zakāt* it carries certain advantages. Not only does it show the willingness of the *mu'tī* (bestower) to fulfil the ordinance of Allāh, but prompt payment makes the *mustoḥaq* (deserving) cheerful,

1. *Z. M.*, p. 51.

2. According to Al-Māwardī *zakāt* is due on all those things which produce income or which can be increased with one's efforts (*Aḥkāmū's-Sultānīya*, Urdu, tr., M. Ibrāhīm, p. 171). And Hujwīrī maintains that *zakāt* should be paid even on *jāh* (dignity) because it is also a complete benefit; *Kashf.*, p. 314.

3. *R. M.*, f. 162b.

4. *Z. M.*, pp. 35-6.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 39.

which is the worthiest of all good actions. And prompt payment also removes the temptation to prevent the loss of wealth.¹

The beneficiaries of *zakāt*, in Saiyid 'Alī's view, should possess any of the five following qualities : *taqwā* (piety), *'ilm* (knowledge), *'iffat* (chastity), *zarūrat* (need), and *qurbat* (kinship).²

By *taqwā*, Saiyid 'Alī means piety, regularity in prayer and abstention from *bid'at* (innovations in matters of religion). To pay *zakāt* to *ahl-i-taqwā*, the Saiyid points out, is to free them from the necessity of earning their living and to help them to apply themselves wholly to God.³

To the second category belong those who seek *'ilm* (knowledge), by which he means the knowledge which leads one to *tauḥīd* and *m'rifa* of God.⁴

The *ahl-i-'iffat* are those who endeavour to conceal their poverty from the mean and ignorant. They courageously face the hardships of life in silence. They maintain self-control for the sake of Allāh; so Saiyid 'Alī asserts that it is better to give one *dirham* to them than to give a hundred *dirhams* to dishonest beggars.⁵

The *ahl-i-iztirār* are those unfortunate brought low by the burden of huge families, illness and other calamities beyond their control. It is imperative, the Saiyid says, for officials and men of good fortune to pay them annually from the *ḥaqqu'l-lāh* ("the right of God"), according to their needs.⁶

The fifth class, *agrāb*, consists of relatives, neighbours and friends. To such of these as are deserving, the *mu'ti* should give preference over all others.⁷

1. *Z.M.* p. 39.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 43.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*, p. 45.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 45-6.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 46.

7. *Ibid.*

Although the Qur'ān¹ does not prohibit the open payment of *zakāt*, Saiyid 'Alī strongly recommends that it be paid secretly. By paying secretly, the Saiyid pleads, the bestower does not seek to advertise himself, but follows the injunction of the Prophet according to whom this method of payment is the most acceptable way of devotion to God. He who gives charity with the right hand and keeps the left unaware is going to be among those seven people who are blessed by God's mercy on the day of Judgement.² However, the Saiyid says that holy men, who are free from hypocrisy, should give openly in order that the act might serve as a precedent to the hesitant.³

Saiyid 'Alī follows *Ghazālī*,⁴ in holding that the receiver of alms is the deputy of God. Thus whatever one gives in charity for the sake of Allāh should be pure. This, he writes, is also commanded by the Qur'ān:⁵ "O you who believe ! Give in charity of the good things you earn and of what We have brought forth for you out of earth, and do not aim at giving in charity what is bad." The Saiyid elaborates this point further by giving an example, borrowed from *Ghazālī*.⁶ He says that every host ensures that nothing is served to his guest in a manner not permitted by the *sharī'a* and then questions how one can serve anything impure to the *mustahq*, who is the deputy of God.⁷

Further, he says, that he who pays *zakāt* does not in fact show any favour to the receiver, on the other hand he should be grateful to the receiver for helping him to fulfil the obligation.⁸ For an example he quotes the Caliph 'Umar and

1. Cf. 13:22; 35:29.

2. *Z.M.*, pp. 39-40. Cf. *K.Sa.*, p. 91.

3. *Z.M.*, p. 40.

4. Cf. *K.Sa.*, p. 92.

5. 2:267.

6. Cf. *K.Sa.*, p. 92.

7. *Z.M.*, p. 43. Cf. Qur'ān, 9:104.

8. *Z.M.*, p. 41.

Al-Sarrāj while maintaining the same opinion says that the rich who pay the *zakāt* to the poor are only restoring what really belongs to them; cf. *Kitābu'l-Luma'*, p. 161.

‘Ā’yisha (a wife of the Prophet), who exhibited humility and gratitude to the *mustahiq*, when they paid alms to him.¹

As a Ṣūfī, Saiyid ‘Alī goes deeper into the question of payment of *zakāt*. He maintains that the relation between a believer and God is that of a lover and beloved; as the lover is the slave of what he loves, so is the believer of God. Wealth and the pleasures of material existence are of no concern to the lovers of God.²

Thus people endowed with the highest degree of love of God, whom the Saiyid calls blessed and truthful ones, never possess any wealth liable to *zakāt*. Relying upon the will of Allāh, they dispose of their entire possessions in charity and are therefore not obliged to pay the *zakāt*. They steadfastly believe in and follow the command of God.³ “You cannot attain to righteousness unless you spend what you love.” They sacrifice the *maḥbūb-i-fānī* (the transitory beloved, i.e., wealth) for the sake of *maḥbūb-i-ḥaqiqī* (the true beloved, i.e., God).⁴

Saiyid ‘Alī supports his argument with an anecdote relating to an eminent Ṣūfī, named Abū’l-Ḥasan Nūrī (d. 295/907). On being asked to give his opinion about the payment of *zakāt*, Abū’l-Ḥasan replied that common Muslims pay two and a half per cent but were a *darwesh* to control the whole world and give it up in gratitude for the benefits obtainable from a moment’s *ma‘rifā*, he would be still paying a very low price.⁵ Saiyid ‘Alī adds that the Caliph Abū Bakr was such a man. When commanded by the Prophet he brought all that he possessed and on being asked what he had left for his family, he replied: “Allāh and His messenger”.⁶

1. *Z.M.*, p. 41.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

3. *Qur’ān*, 3:91.

4. *Z.M.*, p. 37.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 36-7. *Ghazālī* also quotes the same anecdote (cf. *K.Sa.*, p. 93). But *Hujwiri* (cf. *Kashf.*, p. 315) and *Farīdu’d-Dīn ‘Attār* (cf. *Arberry, Muslim Saints and Mystics*, pp. 224-5), attribute it to *Shibli*,

6. *Z.M.*, p. 37. Cf. *K.Sa.*, p. 89.

To the middle category or *mutawassitān*, belong those people whose love for God is not so perfect. They give more than the prescribed amount in charity, but retain sufficient for their maintenance. Those whose love for God is of the lowest category are the common Muslims. They pay no more than what is absolutely necessary.¹

Hajj, the pilgrimage to Mecca, completes the five basic principles of Islam. It is obligatory for those Muslims who are materially prosperous and physically able.² To the *Ṣūfīs*, the pilgrimage did not mean only a visit to the Ka'ba, but it was a source of "contemplation of God".³

Surprisingly, Saiyid 'Alī says very little about the *hajj*. Those Muslims, he writes, who have the means are bound to perform it.⁴ But he adds that if rulers or government officers find that their absence was likely to endanger the internal or external peace of the country, they were not bound to perform the pilgrimage.⁵

Political Thought

Both the *Ṣūfīs* and the 'ālims made strenuous efforts to reform the social and political ethos of the community. Even the *Ṣūfīs* of the first centuries of the Islamic era, who are known as quietists and ascetics, reacted strongly against the evils which the Caliphs and their officers had injected into the body politic of Islam.⁶

Contemporary social and political conditions even compelled *Ghazālī* to write letters to nobles and *wazīrs*.⁷ His *Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*⁸ and *Kīmīyā'-i-Sa'ādat*⁹ contain valuable material

1. *Z.M.* p. 37.

2. Cf. *Qur'ān*, 3:96; 2:197.

3. "Pilgrimage", writes Hujwīrī, "is an act of mortification (*mujāhadat*) for the sake of obtaining contemplation (*mushāhadat*)"; *Kashf.*, p. 329.

4. *Z.M.*, p. 5; *R.I.*, f. 218b.

5. *Z.M.*, p. 5.

6. Cf. Arberry, *Muslim Saints and Mystics*, pp. 136, 141.

7. Cf. M. Smith, *Al-Ghazālī*, pp. 21-2.

8. Cf. II, pp. 121ff...

9. Cf. pp. 172ff..

on the guidance of rulers. His *Naṣīḥatu'l-Malūk*¹ is a separate treatise on this subject. *Ghazālī*'s letters and political works served as a model for the later *Ṣūfīs*, who chose to give counsel and advice to contemporary kings and governors.²

The *Risāla-i-Maktūbāt*, a collection of Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī's letters, comprises several letters to rulers in which he gives them guidance on political matters. Three of these are addressed to Sultān Tughān Shāh,³ Sultān Ghiyāsu 'd-Dīn⁴ and Sultān 'Alīu'd-Dīn⁵ respectively. It is difficult to identify these, but *Ghiyāsu'd-Dīn* and 'Alīu'd-Dīn seem to have been the rulers of the principalities bordering Kashmir, somewhere near Pakhlī,⁶ and Tughan Shāh may have ruled somewhere in Persia.

The most important work of Saiyid 'Alī on the subject is his *Zakhīratu'l-Mulūk*. In its introduction the Saiyid claims that he was requested by many rulers, nobles and government officers to write something for their guidance, but he could not find time to do so. Ultimately, at the request of a friend whose name he does not disclose, he decided to write it.⁷

The political literature written before the *Zakhīratu'l-Mulūk*⁸ may broadly be divided into two categories :

1. Works written by *wazīrs* and secretaries of rulers, who were responsible for running the administration.

1. The work is believed to have been written for Sultān Muḥammad b. Malikshāh (498-511/1105-1118); cf. *Naṣīḥatu'l-Mulūk*, Eng. Tr., Bagley, Introduction, pp. xvi-xvii.

2. Cf. *The Cambridge History of Irān*, V., p. 209.

3. Cf. *R.M.*, p. 167a.

4. Cf. *ibid.*, f. 167b.

5. Cf. *ibid.*, f. 168b.

6. Pakhlī is to the north-west of Kashmir, now a part of West Pakistan. In medieval times its rulers generally paid tribute to Kashmir; cf. *A.A.*, II, p. 397.

7. *Z.M.*, pp. 1-2.

8. The work is undated and refers to no personality or event which might provide a clue leading to the fixation of an approximate date. However, M. Bashīr asserts that it was written in 783/1380; cf. *The Administration of Justice in Medieval India*, p. 39.

2. Works written by the *'ulamā* and *Šūfīs*, who approached the subject from theoretical and academic points of view.

The ministers and secretaries were government servants, and as such were concerned to present an academic justification of the rule of their masters and to elicit unqualifying obedience to their government, just or unjust. They concocted traditions in the name of the Prophet Muḥammad or had them invented by the *'ulamā*.¹

The *'ulamā* and the *Šūfīs*, who examined the question from the academic and theoretical point of view, emphasized the need to submit to the *sharī'a* or the Divine law. They urged that the injunctions of *sharī'a* could not be set aside or abrogated by any ruler. In their works the *sharī'a* stands as a check on the autocratic power of the ruler.²

However, even *Ghazālī's* academic approach was marked by inhibitions, because during his time Saljūq Sultāns were making singular contributions to the rehabilitation of the Sunnī power against the onslaught of the *Ismā'īlīs*. Without a strong government both the Sunnī power and the Sunnī community was bound to shatter to pieces.

Saiyid 'Alī was not concerned with justifying any Sultanate. His approach to the subject was independent. But he was not a political thinker, and his approach to political questions was that of an *'ālim* concerned with the responsibilities of enforcing the lawful (*amr-i-ma'rūf*) and prohibiting the unlawful (*nahi-munkar*). Therefore the implementation of his counsels, in the political conditions of the fourteenth century, was far from possible.

1. Cf. the traditions such as, "Obey your rulers whatever may hap, for if they bid you do anything different to what I [the prophet] have taught you, they shall be punished for it and you will be rewarded for your obedience; and if they bid you do anything different to what I have taught you, the responsibility is theirs and you are quit of it" and "Whoso rebels against the ruler rebels against me"; Arnold, *The Caliphate*, p. 48. See also pp. 45-6.
2. Cf. *Aḥkāmū's-Sultāniya*, p. 11.

Both in the *Risāla-i-Maktūbāt* and *Ẓakhratu'l-Mulūk*, he raises a just ruler to the position of the deputy or vice-gerent of God.¹ God in the perfection of His wisdom, Saiyid 'Alī writes, made it imperative that there should be among the people a just and perfectly righteous ruler, who would direct the activities of the progeny of Adam into right channels and strive to execute the decrees of the *sharī'a* strictly.²

A letter of Ḥasan Baṣrī (21-110/641-728), which Saiyid 'Alī quotes in the *Ẓakhratu'l-Mulūk*, is very significant. Someone wrote to Ḥasan Baṣrī asking him the qualities of the Caliph 'Umar, so that he might model his conduct upon the latter's. Ḥasan Baṣrī answered: "You are not living in 'Umar time and your followers are not like those of 'Umar. However, if you do what 'Umar did, you will be better than he."³ While advising the rulers to follow in 'Umar's footsteps, Saiyid 'Alī recognises the fact that "such Islam and such Muslims are not left that one can govern them after the manner of the pious Caliphs."⁴

Like all other Muslim theorists,⁵ Saiyid 'Alī believes that the implementation of the religious law depends upon the government. The strengthening of Islam and of faith and the annihilation of those who have deviated from the right path and are responsible for adding innovations to it, he says,

1. Saiyid 'Alī was not of course the first person to recognise a ruler as the deputy or vice-gerent of God. Long before him this distinction was bestowed on Muslim rulers (cf. Arnold, *The Caliphate*, p. 50. See also, Rosenthal, *Political Thought in Medieval Islam*, p. 41). However, al-Māwardī considered the Caliph as the vice-gerent of the Prophet and not of God. According to him a deputy by definition represents one who is absent; because God is present always, therefore the Caliph cannot be the deputy of God. He quotes an anecdote of Abū Bakr, the first Caliph, who once was called "*khalīfa'l-lāh*" (Deputy of God), and he objected to it saying, "I am *khalīfa-rasūla'l-lāh*" (deputy of the Prophet); *Aḥkāmū's-Sultāniya*, pp. 31-2.

2. *R.M.*, f. 167a; *Ẓ.M.*, p. 94.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 103.

4. Cf. Ẓiā'u'd-Dīn Baranī, *Fatāwā-i-Jahāndārī*, Eng. tr., M. Habib and Dr. Afsar Begum, p. 34.

5. Cf. *Aḥkāmū's-Sultāniya* p. 32.

depends upon the Sultāns and their officers.¹ Thus force and authority should not be spared in the enforcement of religious law.²

The execution of the decrees of the *shari'a* and justice, the Saiyid holds, are the principal duties of a ruler. "When a ruler follows the path of justice and equity and strives to establish the Divine law and executes the decrees of religion," Saiyid 'Alî writes, "he is the chosen deputy (*nā'ib*) of God, and His shadow and vice-gerent (*khalifa*) upon earth." But if he "turns away from the path of justice and equity, does not treat the servants of God (*bandagān-i-haq*) with compassion, follows his lusts and desires and is negligent in the enforcement of the Divine law, he is, indeed the deputy of the imposter (*dajjāl*) and the enemy of God and His Prophet and the vice-gerent of Sa'an."³

In the *Ẓakhiratu'l-Mulūk*, he quotes anecdote after anecdote of the prophets and the pious Caliphs full of morals for Sultāns and their high officers. Cruel rulers are warned that they will be subjected to very severe punishment and incessant torture in the after-life for having betrayed the trust which God reposed in them.⁴ Again rulers are reminded that on the day of Judgement ordinary people would be questioned about their prayer, while the first question that would be put to them would be about their justice and bounty.⁵

No ruler, however, Saiyid 'Alî says, can discharge his duty without fulfilling the following ten rules:⁶

1. When a case is brought to him, he should place himself in the position of the subject and whatever he does not like to be done for himself, he should not order for others.
2. He should consider the act of satisfying the needs of the Muslims as the worthiest of all devotions.

1. *R.Dr.*, f. 251a.

2. *R.M.*, f. 165a.

3. *Ẓ.M.*, p. 104.

4. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 94

5. *R.M.*, f. 164a-b.

6. *Ẓ.M.*, pp. 105-10.

3. In matters of food and dress he should follow the tradition of the pious Caliphs, and should not get used to eating delicious food and putting on elaborate garments.
4. He should be polite and should not be unnecessarily harsh. He should not be vexed with lengthy discussions and should not feel annoyed in talking to the poor and weak.
5. He should not hesitate to implement the religious law. Under every rule half of the people remain unhappy with their rulers, because two contradictory interests cannot be reconciled. As it is not possible for a just ruler to please everybody, he should sacrifice his personal interests and should not care for the dissatisfaction of the people and should give only such orders as are necessary to please God.
6. Danger to his rule should not make him indolent towards his religious duties. He should understand firmly that only kingship which establishes the Divine rule is the source of good name and felicity. If a ruler does not pay attention to this fact he is consigned to eternal punishment.
Many rulers, Saiyid 'Alī points out, become power-drunk and begin to indulge in the worldly pleasures, thereby ruining both their life and their faith. A ruler should not therefore make his rule a source of his eternal punishment and should do justice.
7. Although nowadays the pious and 'ālims are rare, he should always try to seek the company of godly 'ālims and should avoid the company of those 'ālims and Šūfīs who are nothing but imposters and ignorant. For the sake of worldly gains they praise and bless every tyrant and are responsible for the destruction of faith.
8. He should not frighten his subjects through ostentatious display of pride and arrogance, but should win the hearts of the submissive and the weak through justice, benevolence and kindness.

9. He should always make enquiries about the activities of his officers and should not appoint cruel officers. If any of them commits acts of dishonesty or shows cruelty, he should be given exemplary punishment, so that others may take warning.
10. Sagacity and discernment are qualities indispensable to rulers, enabling them to penetrate into the reality of every case presented before them. They are not guided by what is *prima facie* correct, but discover the truth of every case and decide it in accordance with the *sharī'a*. They are not led away simply by the statements of witnesses. They do not forget the fact that there are innumerable causes for every happening, and that what often appears superficially correct has no bearing upon reality.

Thus a ruler, according to Saiyid 'Alī, is not merely to serve his own satisfaction. He is warned of the next world and of the punishment to be awarded for acting contrary to the will of God. He is called to obedience and devotion to God. At the same time it is impressed upon him that every right action of his is an act of worship and will be rewarded.

Saiyid 'Alī divides the subjects under a Muslim ruler into two categories—Muslims and *Kāfirs* (heretics)—and states that their respective rights differ according to their religion.¹ The Muslim subjects, he says, are entitled to obtain twenty rights from their rulers and it is imperative for the rulers to grant these.² The rights of the Muslim subjects are not different from the duties of a ruler as Saiyid 'Alī describes them. In enumerating these duties Saiyid 'Alī seeks to elaborate the earlier ten rules further. The rights of the Muslim subjects or the duties of the rulers towards them, as given by the Saiyid, are as follows :³

1. A king should treat all Muslims with respect and must keep in mind that God does not approve of tyranny

1. *Z. M.*, p. 110.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 110-7.

and arrogance ; kings should therefore avoid these sins.

2. A king should not listen to those who indulge in back-biting, for this gives birth to strife and causes regret. The jealous, envious, selfish and greedy are generally back-biters. Greedy people harm others for their own petty interests and the jealous find fault with everyone.
3. If a king gets angry with a Muslim for a fault or weakness, he should try to forgive him within three days. But if the anger has been caused because of his enmity to religion, the king could banish him from his favour for the rest of his life. In worldly matters forgiveness is the best policy.
4. A king should be just and benevolent to all sections of his subjects, and should make no discrimination between worthy and unworthy. As the king is the shadow of God and God's mercy is showered both upon believers and non-believers the rulers should also be benevolent to everyone.
5. A king should never, in the pride of his power, pry into the private households of Muslims and should never enter the houses and store-houses of his subjects without permission.
6. A king should treat the people according to their status, He should not expect the mean and the rabble to address him in an elegant manner, and should not expect men residing in mountains and jungles to observe the etiquette generally followed by noblemen. He should assign duties to everyone according to his capacity. He should understand that each class of men is bound to behave in accordance with its own manners and customs. He should not refuse to admit anyone to his presence.
7. Any promise made to a Muslim should be kept at all costs.
8. A king should hold the old and aged in respect, especially the upright among them, and should treat younger people kindly.

9. A king should not be harsh in conversation and should meet both high and low frankly and with an open mind.
10. A king should be just and fair in exercising his authority. As he expects his people to be fair to him, he should in turn be fair to them. He should deal with Muslims in the same manner as they deal with him.
11. He should make peace between contending parties as early as possible. No delay should be permitted in deciding disputes between Muslims, since delay may cause hatred and enmity among them.
12. A king should not expose the faults committed by Muslims and should not harass his poor subjects for petty offences, but should try to conceal their faults.
13. On mere suspicion he should not act in such a way as to embolden his subjects to commit offences. He should avoid accusing anyone merely on suspicion. If by chance he himself commits a sin, he should make every effort to conceal it. He should try to direct the people to act virtuously. If the people are virtuous, the reward will be reaped by the state. If they are corrupt and commit sin, the state would have to suffer its consequences.
14. The governors of a king should make no delay in recommending the needs of the Muslims to him. Many important matters in government are concluded successfully through the recommendation of the governors; the latter should seize this opportunity to obtain eternal blessings.
15. A king should treat the poor and weak with favour as against the rich and powerful. He should spend most of his time in the company of godly people. As government duties and association with all kinds of people, especially the company of the rich and worldly, make the heart dark, he should at least once in a day brighten his heart with the counsel of the pious. Darkness of heart is a danger to faith and causes damnation and everlasting disappointment.

16. A king should not be negligent of the condition of the hungry and distressed and should spare no efforts to alleviate the sufferings of those who have no food. He should also consider it obligatory upon himself to provide a livelihood for orphans. In performing these duties he should be mindful of the answer he will have to give to God on the day of Judgement, the day on which riches and kingdoms will be of no help and the rightful claimants will demand their dues from him. Thus, while he is living and able, he should strive to acquit himself of his duties.
17. A king should be so relentless in awarding punishment to robbers and thieves as to make the highways used by Muslims free from their depredations. Anyone who is troublesome to Muslim travellers should be awarded exemplary punishment. As far as possible, buildings (i.e. watch-houses) should be constructed at all places infested with robbers.
18. Wherever they are needed, and where it is possible to do so, inns and bridges should be constructed without delay.
19. Mosques should be built at every place inhabited by Muslims; an *imām* and a *mu'azzin* should be appointed and provided with stipends so that they may perform their duties without any worry about their livelihood.
20. A king should not be neglectful of his duty to enforce lawful and to prohibit unlawful acts. He should not hesitate to give religious counsel to his people and should direct his subjects to obey the divine commands. He should prevent them from committing sin by inflicting harsh punishments.

We have already pointed out that Saiyid 'Alī's approach to the subject under discussion was that of an *'ālim* saddled with the responsibility to enforce the law of *sharī'a*. As such, he asks both rulers and people not to tolerate anything against the law of religion. The rulers, he says, should stop all acts opposed to the *sharī'a* by awarding harsh punishments and by

using the sword. The *'ulamā*, he continues, are required to stop the commitment of such acts by delivering sermons. Those who have no power to stop such acts by the sword or through discourses are asked to disassociate themselves with those who violate the *sharī'a*.¹

Saiyid 'Alī gives a separate mandate for dealing with the *ahl-i-zimma* ("people of a [revealed] book, i.e., Jews and Christians). This mandate is composed of a set of twenty rules, which are believed by the Saiyid, in common with most of the other Muslim scholars, to have been invented and imposed by the Caliph 'Umar on the *ahl-i-kitāb* (those who possess revealed book). He states that it is imperative for every (Muslim) ruler and governor to make the covenant of 'Umar the basis of the treatment of their non-Muslim subjects (*zimmīs*).² These rules are as follows :³

1. The *zimmīs* will not construct any new places of worship or idol temples in the territory under the control of a Muslim ruler.
2. They will not reconstruct any existing place of worship or temple that may fall into ruin.
3. They will not prevent Muslim travellers from staying in their places of worship or temples.
4. They will receive any Muslim traveller into their houses and will provide him with hospitality for three days.
5. They will not harbour any spies and will not act as spies themselves.
6. If any of their relations show any inclination to embrace Islam, they shall not prevent him from doing so.
7. They will respect Muslims.
8. If they are holding a meeting and a Muslim happens to come there, he will be received respectfully by them.
9. They will not dress like Muslims.
10. They will not adopt Muslim names.
11. They will not ride horses with saddle and bridle,
12. They will not carry swords or bows and arrows,

1. *Z.M.*, p. 117.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 117-8,

13. They will not wear signet rights (*nigīn*).
14. They will not openly sell or drink intoxicating liquor.
15. They will not abandon their traditional dress, so that they may be distinguished from Muslims.
16. They will not openly practise their customs and usages among Muslims.
17. They will not build their houses in the neighbourhood of Muslims.
18. They will not carry (bury) their dead near the graveyards of Muslims.
19. They will not mourn their dead loudly.
20. They will not buy Muslim slaves.

Saiyid 'Alī does not clearly say whether these conditions should be applicable to Hindus, who at that time were in the majority in Kashmīr. However, from his following statement it appears that they were to be treated at par with *ahl-i-zimma*. The document (the covenant of 'Umar), he says, concludes with the note that if they (*ahl-i-zimma*) infringe any of the twenty conditions they are not to be protected and Muslims may rightfully kill them and appropriate their property as if they were *kāfirs* (idolators, i.e., Hindus) at war.¹ This would imply that the *kāfirs* who had submitted to the rule of Islam and were living peacefully were to be treated like *ahl-i-zimma*.

Saiyid 'Alī reserves every benefit of the state for the Muslims. Unlike al-Māwardī,² he does not explicitly mention any rights which non-Muslims could expect in return for obeying the above twenty rules. The alleged covenant of 'Umar is accepted by Saiyid 'Alī as a document to be followed universally in all conditions and at all times.

The document attributed to 'Umar appears in different versions in different works,³ and has been the subject of consi-

1. *Z.M.*, p. 118.

2. According to al-Māwardī the *ahl-i-zimma*, after they accepted to abide by the conditions (twelve according to him), imposed on them, had certain privileges including that they were allowed to repair the existing places of worship; cf. *Aḥkāmū's-Sultāniya*, p. 213.

3. Cf. Tritton, *The Caliphs and their non-Muslim Subjects*, pp. 5ff., where references are given to the various versions of the document,

derable research by orientalists. Professor Arnold observes that later generations imposed a number of restrictive regulations on non-Muslims (Christians), which prevented them from observing their religious practices and in order to make these conditions appear authentic, attributed them to 'Umar.¹ He says that the provisions of the covenant of 'Umar,

... represent the more intolerant practices of a later age, and indeed were regulations that were put into force with no sort of regularity, some outburst of fanaticism being generally needed for appeal to be made for their application. There is abundant evidence to show that the Christians in the early days of the Muhammadan conquest had little to complain of in the way of religious disabilities.²

Tritton,³ after examining all the versions of the "covenant of 'Umar" in detail, says that the treaties made by 'Umar with Syrian towns were simple and no elaborate rules such as mentioned in the covenant were framed. The jurists who drew upon the covenant were themselves unaware of the actual terms of the treaties. In law books too the rules of conduct for *zimmīs* are defined ; he concludes :

Mālik, Shāfe'i and Ahmad b. Hanbal hold that failure to pay the poll-tax [*jizya*] deprives them of protection. This was not the view of Abū Hanīfa. Ahmad and Mālik hold that four things put the *dhimmi* outside the law—blasphemy of God, of His book, of His religion, and of His Prophet.... Abū Hanīfa taught that they must not be too severe with *dhimmīs* who insulted the Prophet. Shāfe'i said that one who repented of having insulted the Prophet might be pardoned and restored to his privileges. Ibn Taimiya taught that the death penalty could not be evaded.⁴

In dealing with question of *zimmīs*, Saiyid 'Alī follows the general pattern of Shāfi'i law, prescribes severe discriminatory

1. *The Preaching of Islam*, p. 57.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

3. *The Caliphs and their non-Muslim Subjects*, pp. 5ff.,

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 16-7,

conditions, and does not consider their practicability.¹ For example it was impossible for the early Sultāns of Kashmir to implement such a policy, as the great majority of their subjects were non-Muslim. Therefore it is not surprising when we find that Saiyid 'Alī left Kashmir disappointed when Sultān Qutbu'd-Dīn failed to respond to his teachings.² In fact Saiyid 'Alī's political thinking was altogether theoretical and had no bearing upon actual practice.

Strict adherence to *sharī'a* and *sunna* as advocated by 'Alā'u'd-Daula Simnānī had greatly influenced Saiyid 'Alī's³ personality. He is reported to have said that had the *sharī'a* not prevented him he would have preferred to live as an ascetic observing fasts throughout his life and never marrying.⁴ He led a simple life, earning his livelihood by making caps.⁵ However, he did not disapprove of the possession of the wealth provided the rules of *sharī'a* such as paying the *zakāt* were not ignored.⁶

Like many Sūfīs and scholars who were not satisfied with their contemporaries, Saiyid 'Alī also believed that people had not recognised his merits properly and did not know the value of his scholarship. However, he thought that generations coming a century after his death would be able to recognise his real worth.⁷

1. Zīā'u'd-Dīn Bārānī while at one place (Cf. *Fatāwā-i-Jahandāri*, pp. 46-7) pleads to a Muslim king for an all-out struggle against Hindus, but at another place (Cf. op. cit. pp. 34, 44) he concedes the unfeasibility of establishing a government in accordance with the Islamic principles, these days.

2. See supra.

Bārānī clearly states that Muslim kings in India, where Islam was established long before Kashmir, were tolerant and that Hindus were allowed to live with honour and dignity cf. *Fatāwā-i-Jahandāri*, pp. 47-48.

3. Cf. *Chihil-Majlis*, ff. 169b, 173a.

4. *K.M.*, pp. 456, 540.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 542.

6. Cf. *Ms.C.*, f. 288a.

7. *K.M.*, pp. 471-2.

Devoid of originality as they were, his works did not receive the widespread recognition which those of Şūfī scholars such as Qushairī, Ghazālī, Shaikh Shihābu'd-Dīn Suhrawardī and Ibn 'Arabī obtained. In Kashmir his teachings and works became popular mainly because of a band of followers and disciples who chose to stay there to propagate the teachings of the master.

CHAPTER IV

THE KUBARAVĪ ORDER—B

Disciples of Saiyid 'Alī

According to some sources¹ seven hundred Saiyids had accompanied Saiyid 'Alī to Kashmīr; many modern scholars² uncritically accept this as true. No source, however, gives a complete list of the disciples and only the following are mentioned in the different sources. Some of them either came with Saiyid 'Alī to Kashmīr or were sent there by him before his arrival.

The first to arrive in Kashmīr were Saiyid Tāju'd-Dīn and Saiyid Husain, the cousins of Saiyid 'Alī.³ They were both deputed by Saiyid 'Alī to explore the religious atmosphere in the Valley of Kashmīr;⁴ but Saiyid Husain went to India⁵ and only Saiyid Tāju'd-Dīn proceeded to Kashmīr, where Sultān Shihābu'd-Dīn, the ruler of the time (1354-1373), received him warmly. The Sultān built a *khānqāh* for Tāju'd-Dīn at Shihābu'd-Dīnpura⁶ close to his own palace,⁷ and granted the revenues of the village of Nāgām⁸ for his maintenance.⁹

It is said that Sultān Shihābu'd-Dīn used to consult Tāju'd-Dīn both on religious and administrative matters,¹⁰ but

1. *N.A.*, f. 35a; *T.Az.*, p. 36; *F.K.*, f. 58b; *G.A.*, f. 119a; *T.H.*, III, p. 15; *T.K.*, p. 12.
2. Cf. Temple, *The word of Lallā*, p. 2; Sūfī, *Kashīr*, I, p. 85; Muḥibbu'l-Ḥasan, *Sultāns*, p. 56.
3. *T.Ks.*, f. 1a; *T.Az.*, p. 31; *F.K.*, f. 69b; *G.A.*, f. 116a; *T.H.*, III, p. 6; *T.K.*, p. 8.
4. *T.Ks.*, f. 1a; *T.Az.*, p. 38; *F.K.*, f. 69b; *G.A.*, f. 116a-b.
5. *A.Ab.*, f. 33a; *T.Az.*, pp. 35, 38; *F.K.*, f. 69a; *T.H.*, III, p. 9; *T.K.*, p. 9.
6. The modern Shāḍipur is nine miles north-west of Srinagar—cf. *R.Tk.*, II, p. 329.
7. *F.K.*, f. 69b; *T.H.*, III, pp. 6-7; *T.K.*, p. 8.
8. The ancient "Nāgrāma" (cf. *R.Tk.*, II, p. 474) is fourteen miles to the south-west of Srinagar.
9. *T.Ks.*, f. 2b; *N.A.*, f. 30b; *F.K.*, f. 69b; *T.H.*, III, p. 7; *T.K.*, p. 8.
10. *F.K.*, f. 69b; *T.H.*, III, p. 7.

no authority mentions the type of instruction which the Sultān received. It seems that Tajū'd-Dīn, unlike Saiyid 'Alī, either approved Shihābu'd-Dīn's policy of tolerance towards his non-Muslim subjects,¹ or avoided to come in conflict with him, and was contented with the patronage he received.

Encouraged by the Sultān's patronage, Tajū'd-Dīn invited his brother Saiyid Ḥusain to join him². The Sultān received the latter well and helped him to settle at the village of Kulgām.³ Saiyid Ḥusain was able to interest a considerable number of the local population in his activities.⁴ His kitchen, for the maintenance of which he received a state grant,⁵ was open to all sections of the people⁶ and his interest in their welfare helped him a great deal in converting them to Islam.⁷ It is said that the people in the village of Kulgām lived near the banks of the river Vaishu.⁸ Once Saiyid Ḥusain asked them to move from there to a safer place, where he himself lived, predicting that some misfortune was going to visit them there. The villagers did not agree. Shortly afterwards a flood in the river Vaishu took a large toll of population, which convinced

1. Describing Shihābu'd-Dīn's attitude towards his non-Muslim subjects, Jonarāja says that once Udaya-śrī, a minister, suggested that the Sultān should break a brass image of Buddha and make coins out of the metal. But the Sultān refused to follow his advice, and replied : "Past generations have set up images to obtain fame and earn merit, and you propose to demolish them ! Some have obtained renown by setting up images of gods, others, by worshipping them, some by duly maintainin ; them....How great is the enormity of such a deed....King Shāhāvādīna [Sanskritized name of Shihābu'd-Dīn], it will be said, plundered the image of a god; and this fact, dreadful as Yama [god of death], will make the men in future tremble"—*R.Tj.*, p. 44.
2. *T.H.*, III, p. 9. See also *T.K.*, p. 9.
3. *A.Ab.*, f. 33b; *T.Az.*, p. 38; *T.H.*, III, p. 9; *T.K.*, p. 9. Kulgām is thirty-four miles south-west of Srinagar.
4. *T.Ks.*, f. 1a; *A.Ab.*, f. 33a-b; *T.Az.*, p. 38; *F.K.*, f. 69b; *T.H.*, III, p. 9.
5. *T.Ks.*, f. 1a; *F.K.*, f. 69b.
6. *A.Ab.*, f. 33b; *F.K.*, f. 69b.
7. *A.Ab.*, f. 33b; *T.Az.*, p. 38; *F.K.*, f. 69b; *T.H.*, III, p. 9; *T.K.*, p. 9.
8. The ancient "Visok"—cf. *R.Tk.*, II, p. 415.

the villagers of the saintliness of Saiyid Ḥusain and this fact became a potent stimulus of their faith in him.¹

Saiyid Ḥusain breathed his last on 11 Sha'bān, 792/25 July, 1390.² A magnificent shrine with "exquisite wood carving and painted lattice"³ at the village of Kulgām stands as a memorial to the reverence with which the people held him.

Saiyid Kabīr Baihaqī became Saiyid 'Alī's disciple at a very early age.⁴ It is said that when Saiyid 'Alī converted the chief Brahman of *Kālī-mandar* at Srinagar to Islam,⁵ and turned the temple into a mosque, he ordered Saiyid Kabīr to settle down there and preach the truths of Islam to the people.⁶ However, after Saiyid 'Alī's departure, Saiyid Kabīr shifted to *moḥalla* Darībal in Srinagar and lived for the rest of his life there.⁷

Mīr Saiyid Jamālu'd-Dīn 'Atā'ī⁸, was one of the very few followers of Saiyid 'Alī, who brought their families with them to Kashmīr.⁹ However, unlike his spiritual master, Saiyid Jamālu'd-Dīn was not a teacher or a preacher, but lived an ascetic life in retirement,¹⁰ at the village of Chitar, in the *pargana* Khovurpur.¹¹

Saiyid Muḥammad Kāzim, commonly known as Saiyid Qāzī,¹² was Saiyid 'Alī's librarian (*taḥwīldār-i-kutub*)¹³ When

1. *A.Ab.*, f. 33b; *T.K.*, p. 9.
2. *T.H.*, III, p. 9; *T.K.*, p. 9.
3. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 288.
4. *F.K.*, f. 65b.
5. See *supra*.
6. *T.Ks.*, f. 4b; *F.K.*, ff. 65b, 66a.
7. *Ibid.*, f. 66a; *T.H.*, III, p. 21; *T.K.*, p. 21.
8. *T.Ks.*, f. 56; *A.Ab.*, f. 105b; *F.K.*, f. 71a. Some authorities call him Saiyid Jalālu'd-Dīn 'Atā'ī—cf. *T.Az.*, p. 38; *T.H.*, III, p. 17; *T.K.*, p. 19.
9. *T.Az.*, p. 38.
10. *T.K.*, p. 19.
11. *T.Ks.*, f. 6a; *T.Az.*, p. 38; *F.K.*, f. 71a; *T.H.*, III, p. 17; *T.K.*, p. 19. "Khovur" in Kashmīrī means left side, and the *pargana* Khovurpur is to the east of left of the Lidar Valley, in the modern district of Anantnāg.
12. *T.Az.*, p. 39; *F.K.*, f. 71a; *T.H.*, III, p. 19; *T.K.*, p. 20.
13. *T.Ks.*, f. 6a, *T.Az.*, p. 39; *F.K.*, f. 71a; *T.H.*, III, p. 19; *T.K.*, p. 20.

Saiyid 'Alī, while journeying through the Valley, reached Latapura,¹ he asked Saiyid Qāzī to settle there and propagate Islam.²

Although the ancient and medieval Hindu scholars attach no importance to Latapura,³ medieval Muslim scholars assert that it was a great centre of Hinduism.⁴ The fact that a disciple of Saiyid Qāzī's eminence was chosen to work there shows that in those days Latapura was an important place. Saiyid Qāzī worked there with considerable success, and when he died he was buried there.⁵

Another disciple of Saiyid 'Alī was Saiyid Muḥammad Balkhī, also called Pīr Ḥājī Muḥammad Qārī'. He was a sound scholar of Islamic theology. His ability to recite the Qur'ān according to the prescribed rules was responsible for his fame as a *qārī*.⁶

When Saiyid 'Alī left Kashmir, he particularly asked Pīr Ḥājī to stay there and guide the people to the path of *sharī'a*.⁷ Pīr Ḥājī, unlike his preceptor, was friendly with Sultān Qutbu'd-Dīn, who built a *khānqāh* for him and gave the revenues of some two *parganas* for the maintenance of his *langar* (lit. alms-house), which was thrown open to all people.⁸ Because of the fame of the *langar*, this place is still called Langarhatta.⁹

1. The ancient "Lalitapura", seventeen miles south-east of Srīnagar.

2. *T.Ks.*, f. 6b; *T.Az.*, p. 39; *T.H.*, III, p. 19; *T.K.*, p. 20. According to Wahhāb, Saiyid 'Alī had asked Saiyid Qāzī to work at Pompur (the ancient "Padmapura", eight miles from Srīnagar on the road to Latapura). But at the same time he says that Saiyid Qāzī is buried at Latapura—*F.K.*, f. 71a.

3. Cf. *R.Tk.*, II, p. 460.

4. *T.Ks.*, f. 6b; *T.Az.*, p. 39; *T.H.*, III, p. 19; *T.K.*, p. 20.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *T.Ks.*, f. 5b; *T.Az.*, p. 40; *F.K.*, f. 70a; *T.H.*, III, p. 20; *T.K.*, p. 21. *Qārī* literally means a reader. It is particularly used for one who "reads the Qur'ān correctly, and is acquainted with the 'ilmu't-tajwīd, or the science of reading the Qur'ān"—Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 478.

7. *T.Ks.*, f. 5b; *T.Az.*, p. 40; *F.K.*, f. 70a; *T.H.*, III, p. 20; *T.K.*, p. 21.

8. *F.K.*, f. 70a; *T.H.*, III, p. 20; *T.K.*, p. 21.

9. *Ibid.*

Pir Hāji is said to have built several *khānqāhs* and mosques,¹ but only one survives, the *Ẓiyarat-Pir Hāji Muḥammad Ṣāhib*, to the north of Srinagar. These *khānqāhs* were the nucleus of his teaching and preaching activities.² He died after a short illness, on 8 Rajab, 792/22 June, 1390³, and was buried in his own *khānqāh* at Langarhatta.⁴

Saiyid Muḥammad Quraish and Saiyid ‘Abdu’llah, the two other disciples of Saiyid ‘Alī⁵ were asked to settle down in the town of Vijabror,⁶ a great centre of Hindu learning and famous for its numerous temples.⁷ Some authorities⁸ allege that Saiyid Muḥammad Quraish demolished the famous temple of *Vijayeśvara*⁹ at Vijabror, converted its custodian to Islam and erected a *Jāmi’-masjid* on its site. Some authorities¹⁰ assert that Saiyid ‘Alī himself performed this act. Both versions of the story seem to be legendary. Although the demolition of temples and erection of mosques in their place was not an uncommon practice, it seems unlikely in this particular instance. The fact is not borne out by the archaeological evidence, for the temple was on the bank of the river Jehlum.¹¹ while the *Jāmi’-masjid*, which still stands, is in the middle of the town and is situated at a considerable distance from the

1. Ibid.

2. *F.K.*, f. 70a; *T.H.*, III, p. 20; *T.K.*, p. 21.

3. *F.K.*, f. 70a; *T.H.*, III, p. 20. According to Miskīn, Pīr Hāji died on 8 Rajab, 794/31 May, 1392 (*T.K.*, p. 21). But Wāhhāb and Ḥasan are both earlier to Miskīn, therefore are more reliable.

4. *T.Az.*, p. 40; *F.K.*, f. 70a; *T.H.*, III, p. 20; *T.K.*, p. 21.

5. *T.Ks.*, f. 7a; *K.S.*, f. 15a; *F.K.*, f. 71a. Others mention only Saiyid Muḥammad Quraish—*T.Az.*, p. 39; *T.H.*, III, p. 19; *T.K.*, p. 21.

6. The ancient town of “Vijayeśvara” is twenty-nine miles to the south-east of Srinagar. It still boasts a large number of Brahmans, who are particularly famous for their knowledge of astrology.

7. Cf. *R.Tk.*, II, p. 463.

8. *T.Az.*, p. 39; *T.H.*, III, p. 19; *T.K.*, p. 21.

9. The antiquity of the temple, says Stein, is indicated by the legend connected with Aśoka, who, according to Kalhaṇa, replaced the old “stuccoed enclosure of the temple by one of stone”—*R.Tk.*, II, p. 463.

10. *T.Ks.*, f. 7a; *F.K.*, f. 71a.

11. Cf. *R.Tk.*, II, pp. 463, 464.

site of the temple. The stone material of the temple could be seen there as late as the reign of Ranbir Singh (1857-1885), who used it for the construction of the new temple of *Vijayeshvara*, close by the site of the old one.¹

Again, it is unlikely that Jonarāja, who gives a long list of the temples destroyed from time to time, would have omitted to mention the destruction of this famous temple. Thus the story that Saiyid Muḥammad Quraish or Saiyid 'Alī demolished the temple is an attempt to glorify the missionary zeal of the Saiyids.

However, both Saiyid Muḥammad Quraish and his co-worker, Saiyid 'Abdu'llāh, are reported to have been very active there in persuading the people to embrace Islam.² The dates of their death are not known, but it is said that they were buried near the *Ḥami'-masjid* at Vijabrur.³

Saiyid Muḥammad Firūz, also called Saiyid Jalālu'd-Dīn⁴, another disciple of Saiyid 'Alī, led the quiet life of an ascetic and took little interest in the preaching of Islam.⁵ He had settled down permanently at the village of Simpur,⁶ in the *pargana* Vihi⁷.

Saiyid Ruknu'd-Dīn and Saiyid Fakhrū'd-Dīn, the two eminent disciples of Saiyid 'Alī, made the village Avantipura a centre of their activities.⁸ Avantipura⁹ was

1. Cf. *Ibid.*, II, p. 463.

2. *T.Ks.*, f. 7a; *T.Az.*, p. 39; *F.K.*, f. 71b; *T.H.*, III, p. 19; *T.K.*, p. 21.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *T.Ks.*, f. 6a; *T.Az.*, p. 39; *F.K.*, f. 70b; *T.H.*, III, p. 19; *T.K.*, p. 21.

5. *F.K.*, f. 70b.

6. Simpur is based on the abbreviated form of the name of its founder, King Simhadeva, who, according to Kalhaṇa, settled Brahmans there—cf. *R.Tk.*, II, p. 190.

7. *T.Az.*, p. 39; *F.K.*, f. 70b. Vihi adjoins Srīnagar from the south-east.

8. *T.Ks.*, f. 6b; *T.Az.*, p. 39; *F.K.*, f. 71a; *T.K.*, pp. 20, 21.

9. Seventeen miles south-east of Srīnagar. This village was founded by King Avantivarman (855-883)—cf. *R.Tk.*, II, p. 460.

another celebrated centre of Hinduism,¹ and the ruins of two huge stone temples there are a reminder of its past glory.

Saiyid Ruknu'd-Dīn and Saiyid Fakhrū'd-Dīn, who were well known for both esoteric and exoteric knowledge,² seem to have made a great mark there. Saiyid Ruknu'd-Dīn died on 17 Rabi'ul-Sānī, 792/4 April, 1390³, and was buried in the village of Avantipura⁴. The date of Fakhrū'd-Dīn's death is not known, but he appears to have outlived Ruknu'd-Dīn, and is buried beside his grave.⁵

Saiyid Kamālu'd-Dīn Sānī, who among the disciples of Saiyid 'Alī, was of an advanced age and weak in health⁶, had settled down at the village of Na'idkhai⁷, in the modern district of Bārāmūla. In the ancient period the place was not very well known and it seems that Saiyid Kamālu'd-Dīn preferred to settle there in order to live a quiet life. He died on 3 Jumādu'l-Auwal, 790/9 June, 1388.⁸

One of the most distinguished companions of Saiyid 'Alī was Saiyid Jamālu'd-Dīn Muḥaddis (the traditionist). Besides the knowledge of *ḥadīṣ*, he was very well versed in '*ilmu'l-tafsīr*' (knowledge regarding the interpretation of the Qur'ān).⁹ Because of his piety and devotion he was known as '*Urwatu'l-wusqā*' (true faith).¹⁰

The *mohalla*, in Srinagar where he settled was called after his name '*Urwatu'l-wasqā*'.¹¹ There he established

1. Ibid., II, p. 460.

2. *T.Ks.*, f. 6b; *T.Az.*, p. 39; *F.K.*, f. 71a; *T.K.*, p. 19.

3. Ibid., p. 20.

4. *T.Ks.*, f. 6b; *T.Az.*, p. 39; *F.K.*, f. 71a; *T.K.*, p. 20.

5. Ibid., p. 21.

6. *T.Az.*, p. 39; *F.K.*, f. 71a, *T.H.*, III, p. 18; *T.K.*, p. 19.

7. Ibid.

8. *T.K.*, p. 19.

9. *T.Ks.*, f. 6a; *T.Az.*, p. 39; *F.K.*, f. 70b; *T.H.*, III, p. 18; *T.K.*, p. 20.

10. *F.K.*, f. 70b; *T.H.*, III, p. 18; *T.K.*, p. 20.

11. *F.K.*, f. 70b; *T.H.*, III, p. 18; *T.K.*, p. 20.

a *madrasa*¹ and attracted a large number of pupils.² After his death he was buried in his *moḥalla* which is now called Arwat.³

Saiyid Kamālu'd-Dīn, the brother of Saiyid Jamālu'd-Dīn Muḥaddis⁴ was also a well known Ṣūfī.⁵ Although he had settled at Quṭbu'd-Dīnpura in Srinagar, he spent most of his time in travelling to various parts of the Valley.⁶ He lies buried in the vicinity of Quṭbu'd-Dīnpura.⁷

Saiyid Muḥammad Āhanposh or 'Ainposh, was another companion of Saiyid 'Alī. He took up his residence at Kanikadal,⁸ in Srinagar where he was buried.⁹

Among the Kashmīrī disciples of Saiyid 'Alī, who rose to eminence, were Shaikh Sulaimān and his son Shaikh Aḥmad. Shaikh Sulaimān was originally a Brahman named Sūkānth.¹⁰ He was converted to Islam before Saiyid 'Alī's arrival in Kashmīr. The circumstances which led him to embrace Islam are not known and we are not told who converted him. It is believed that his family strongly resented his conversion¹¹ and for fear of persecution from his relatives, he left Kashmīr for Samarqand, where he acquired Islamic learning.¹² After com-

1. cf. Ṣūfī, *Kashīr*, I, pp. 346-7.

2. *T.Ks.*, f. 6a; *T.Az.*, p. 39; *F.K.*, f. 70b; *T.H.*, III, p. 18; *T.K.*, p. 20.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *F.K.*, f. 70b; *T.H.*, III, p. 18.

5. *T.Ks.*, f. 6a; *T.Az.*, p. 38; *F.K.*, f. 70b; *T.H.*, III, p. 18; *T.K.*, p. 20.

6. *T.H.*, III, p. 18.

7. *T.Ks.*, f. 6a; *T.Az.*, p. 38; *F.K.*, f. 70b; *T.H.*, III, p. 18; *T.K.*, p. 20.

8. *T.Az.*, p. 41; *T.H.*, III, p. 21; *T.K.*, p. 22.

9. *Ibid.*

10. *A.Ab.*, f. 109b; *K.S.*, f. 55a; *T.Az.*, p. 40; *F.K.*, f. 72a; *T.H.*, III, p. 191; *T.K.*, p. 137.

11. *A.Ab.*, f. 110a; *K.S.*, f. 55a; *F.K.*, f. 72a; *T.H.*, III, p. 191; *T.K.*, p. 138.

A'zamī maintains that his relatives were not aware of his conversion and that he left the Valley lest they might come to know about it—*T.Az.*, p. 40.

12. *A.Ab.*, f. 110a; *K.S.*, f. 55a-b; *T.Az.*, p. 40; *F.K.*, f. 72a; *T.H.*, III, p. 191; *T.K.*, p. 138.

pleting his education, he went to Kolāb, where he became the disciple of Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī.¹ Later, when Saiyid 'Alī decided to visit the Valley, Shaikh Sulaimān accompanied him, and spent the rest of his life near Kohi-Sulaimān, in Srinagar.²

Shaikh Aḥmad had also embraced Islam along with his father, Shaikh Sulaimān.³ According to some sources,⁴ Shaikh Aḥmad did not accompany his father in his self-chosen exile and met Saiyid 'Alī, when the latter reached Kashmir; while others⁵ assert that he left Kashmir along with his father and met Saiyid 'Alī at Kolāb. The latter seems more probable, because like his father he may have left Kashmir for fear of persecution.

Saiyid 'Alī bestowed his personal care upon Shaikh Aḥmad and made him his favourite disciple.⁶ His sweet melodious voice earned for him the title of *Khwushkhwān* ("melodious").⁷ It is said that he would infatuate people with his recitation of the Qur'ān.⁸ Saiyid 'Alī, who does not seem to have indulged in *samā'*, must have found great spiritual satisfaction in the Qur'ānic recitation of Shaikh Aḥmad.

When Saiyid 'Alī left the Valley, he appointed Shaikh Aḥmad as his *khalifa*, giving him precedence over his father, Shaikh Sulaimān, who was still alive.⁹ Shaikh Aḥmad lived an active life and many people are said to have derived benefit from his religious and spiritual knowledge.¹⁰ When he breathed his

1. Ibid.

2. *T.Az.*, p. 40; *F.K.*, f. 72b; *T.H.*, III, p. 191; *T.K.*, p. 138. Koh-i-Sulaimān or Takht-i-Sulaimān is not called after the name of Shaikh Sulaimān. According to popular tradition among the Muslims of Kashmir, it is the throne of the prophet Solomon. The Hindus call it Shankaracharya hill.

3. *A.Ab.*, f. 110b; *K.S.*, 55b; *T.Az.*, p. 40; *F.K.*, f. 72b; *T.H.*, III, p. 191; *T.K.*, p. 138.

4. *K.S.*, f. 55b; *T.K.*, p. 38.

5. *A.Ab.*, f. 110b; *T.Az.*, p. 40; *F.K.*, f. 72b; *T.H.*, III, p. 191.

6. *A.Ab.*, f. 111a; *K.S.*, f. 55b; *T.Az.*, p. 40; *F.K.*, f. 72b; *T.H.*, III, p. 191; *T.K.*, p. 138.

7. *T.Az.*, p. 40; *T.H.*, III, p. 191; *T.K.*, p. 138.

8. *A.Ab.*, f. 111a; *K.S.*, f. 55b; *T.Az.*, p. 40; *F.K.*, f. 72b; *T.H.*, III, p. 191; *T.K.*, p. 138.

9. *T.Az.*, p. 40; *F.K.*, f. 72b; *T.H.*, III, p. 191; *T.K.*, p. 148.

10. *T.Az.*, p. 40; *F.K.*, f. 72b; *T.K.*, p. 138.

last he was buried beside his father at the *Jāma'masjid* in Srinagar.¹

Among the disciples of Shaikh Aḥmad are mentioned Ibrāhīm Adham, and Shaikh Faṭḥu'llāh Ḥāfīz. Ibrāhīm Adham generally known as Bābā Ḥājī Adham, was originally from Balkh.² After travelling extensively in various parts of the Muslim world,³ he reached Kashmīr in the reign of Sultān Sikandar,⁴ and became the disciple of Shaikh Aḥmad.⁵

Ibrāhīm Adham is said to have been a well known scholar and the author of a treatise of Sufism, called *Maqāmāt*⁶, which does not now exist. He died in 841/1437⁷ and was buried in what is now called Shā'irwārī in Srinagar.⁸

Shaikh Faṭḥu'llāh Ḥāfīz⁹ was the son of Shaikh Aḥmad, whom he succeeded as the head of the Kubraviyas in Kashmīr.¹⁰ Nothing is known about his activities, but his son Shaikh Ismā'il, whom he appointed his *khalifa*,¹¹ is quite famous.

Shaikh Ismā'il was a distinguished Ṣūfī as well as reputed *ālim*. Scholars from Kābul and India, are said to have gathered at his seminary, which he had founded near his *khān-qāh*, at Koh-i-Marān in Srinagar.¹² It was equipped with a rich library,¹³ and a hostel, where students were provided with

1. Ibid.
2. B.S., f. 33a; K.S., f. 16b; F.K., f. 75a; T.H., III, p. 190; T.K., p. 138.
3. T.Az., p. 55; T.H., III, p. 190; T.K., p. 138.
4. B.S., f. 33b; F.K., f. 75a; T.H., III, p. 190; T.K., p. 138.
5. F.K., f. 75a; T.H., III, p. 190; T.K., p. 138.
6. F.K., f. 75a; T.H., III, p. 190.
7. F.K., f. 75a; T.H., III, p. 190; T.K., p. 138.
8. K.S., f. 56b; T.Az., p. 55; F.K., f. 75a; T.H., III, p. 190; T.K., p. 138.
9. He was called "Ḥāfīz", as he had learnt the whole Qur'ān by heart—A.Ab., f. 112a; K.S., f. 58b; T.Az., p. 66; F.K., f. 78b; T.H., III, p. 192; T.K., p. 143.
10. Ibid.
11. A.Ab., f. 112a; K.S., f. 59a; T.Az., p. 75; F.K., f. 79b; T.H., III, p. 193; T.K., p. 144.
12. T.K., f. 22b; A.Ab., f. 113a; F.K., f. 80a; T.H., III, p. 103; T.K., p. 144.
13. T.H., III, p. 193; T.K., p. 145.

free board and lodging, was attached to it.¹ Sultān Ḥasan Shāh and his successors, Muḥammad Shāh and Faṭḥ Shāh used to pay for the maintenance of the institution.²

Shaikh Ismā'il was very well known in the religious circles of his time. Sultān Ḥasan Shāh had appointed him as his *Shaikhu'l-Islam*,³ in which capacity he is said to have constructed a number of mosques and *khānqāhs* in the Valley.⁴ Towards the end of his life, Shaikh Ismā'il led a life of complete retirement and appointed Bābā 'Alī Najār as his *khālifa*.⁵ The Shaikh died on 1 Rabi' u'l-Auwal, 916/8 June, 1510, and was buried near his own *khānqāh* at Koh-i-Marān.⁶

Bābā 'Alī Najār, however, came under the influence of Shaikh Shamsu'd-Dīn 'Irāqī and joined the Shī'ī sect,⁷ the burden of the maintenance of the *khānqāh* and the seminary thus falling upon Shaikh Ismā'il's son, Shaikh Faṭḥu'llāh.⁸ By this time Kashmir was torn by Shī'ī-Sunnī conflicts. Shaikh Faṭḥu'llāh, as we shall discuss elsewhere, espoused the cause of the Sunnī sect. Through courting the wrath of Kāji Chak, an orthodox Shī'ī, who was the *wazīr* of Muḥammad Shāh (IV, 1517-28), his property was confiscated⁹ and he was forced to emigrate to Sialkot, where he spent the rest of his life.¹⁰

With the departure of Shaikh Faṭḥu'llāh from the Valley, the *khānqāh* and the seminary of Shaikh Ismā'il were abandoned and with it came to an end that chain of the Kubraviya

1. *T.Ks.*, f. 22b; *A.Ab.*, f. 113a; *F.K.*, f. 80a; *T.H.*, III, p. 193; *T.K.*, p. 145.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *T.Ks.*, f. 22b; *A.Ab.*, f. 112b; *K.S.*, f. 59a; *N.A.*, f. 55a; *F.K.*, f. 71b; *G.A.*, f. 139a; *T.H.*, III, p. 193; *T.K.*, p. 144.

4. Cf. *A.Ab.*, f. 112b; *F.K.*, f. 79b; *T.H.*, III, p. 193.

5. *T.Ks.*, f. 22a-b; *T.Az.*, p. 75; *G.A.*, f. 142a.

6. *F.K.*, f. 80b; *T.H.*, III, p. 194; *T.K.*, p. 145.

7. See p. 216.

8. The sources say that he succeeded his father as the head of the Kubraviyas and do not point out that this happened after Bābā 'Alī embraced Shi'ism—*T.Ks.*, f. 24a; *T.Az.*, p. 77; *T.H.*, III, p. 198; *T.K.*, p. 148.

9. *N.A.*, f. 64a; *T.H.*, III, p. 199; *T.K.*, p. 148.

10. *K.S.*, f. 61b; *N.A.*, f. 64a; *F.K.*, f. 81a; *T.H.*, III, p. 199; *T.K.*, p. 148.

saints in Kashmīr which had continued from Saiyid 'Alī through Shaikh Sulaimān down to the sixteenth century.

Saiyid 'Alī had a number of disciples in his native land and other places in Persia, who did not accompany him to Kashmīr. The most distinguished among them were *Khawāja Ishāq Khatlānī* and Amīr Mullā, generally known as Nūru'd-Dīn Ja'far Badakhshī.¹ They both tutored his son Mīr Muḥammad, who later came to Kashmīr and acquired great influence there.² *Khawāja Ishāq*, also called "*Khawāja-i-buzurg*" (great teacher or saint), was born at *Khatlān* in 735/1334.³ While still young he came under the influence of Saiyid 'Alī and became his disciple.⁴ After the death of the Saiyid, *Khawāja Ishāq* succeeded him as his *khalīfa*.⁵

The *Khawāja*, himself had achieved great fame as a teacher,⁶ and had attracted a large number of disciples, among whom was Saiyid Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh, the founder of the Nūrbakhshīya order.⁷ According to Q̣ẓī Nūru'llāh Shustarī, both *Khawāja Ishāq* and Saiyid Muḥammad, in 816/1413, revolted against Shāh Rukh⁸ (808—850/1404—1447), of the line of Timūr, who ruled in Persia and Central Asia for nearly fifty years.⁹ However, they were soon caught and imprisoned by Bāyazīd, the governor of *Khatlān*.¹⁰ The life of Saiyid Muḥammad was spared and *Khawāja Ishāq* was put to death¹¹ on 16 Sha'bān 816/10 November, 1413.¹²

1. Cf. *F.K.*, ff. 66b; 102a.

2. See *infra*, pp. 132 ff.

3. *F.K.*, f. 102a.

4. *Ibid.*, f. 102a-b.

5. Cf. *ibid.*, f. 66b.

6. *Ibid.*, f. 102b.

7. *Majālisu'l-Mu'minīn*, p. 313.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 314. See also H. Blochmann, *A.A.*, III, introduction, p. XXVIII, n. 1.

9. Sykes, *A History of Persia*, II, p. 137.

10. *Majālisu'l-Mu'minīn*, p. 314.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 314.

12. *F.K.*, f. 102b. Wāhhāb maintains that Shāh Rukh was alarmed at the popularity of *Khawāja Ishāq* and ordered his execution—*F.K.*, f. 102b.

Little is known of Ja'far Badakhshī, except that he was highly educated and no spiritual guide was able to influence him.¹ In 735/1334, his brother, Haqqū, introduced him to his guide, Saiyid 'Alī at 'Alīshāh (a village in *Khatlān*).² Impressed by Saiyid 'Alī, Ja'far Badakhshī became his disciple³ and later wrote a treatise, the *Khulāṣatu'l-Manāqib*,⁴ describing the life and spiritual achievements of his preceptor.

Mīr Muḥammad

When Saiyid 'Alī died, his son Mīr Muḥammad, born in 744/1372⁵ at *Khatlān*⁶, was only twelve years old. Before his death Saiyid 'Alī had written two documents for his son, one the *wasīyat-nānā* (testament) and the other *khilāfat-nāmā*, and had asked the disciples who were with him to send them to *Khwāja Ishāq* and Ja'far Badakhshī.⁷ In his testament, Saiyid 'Alī had advised his son that he should first complete his education and then travel to improve his character and enlighten his heart and soul.⁸

Mīr Muḥammad entered the discipleship of *Khwāja Ishāq* and learnt early lessons of Sufism from him, for three years and five months.⁹ Then he went to Ja'far Badakhshī, under whose guidance he remained for seven months.¹⁰ It seems that, while still young, Mīr Muḥammad attracted some disciples of his father¹¹ and set off with them for Kashmir. This was the second wave of Kubravīyas entering into the Valley.

1. *Ibid.*, f. 66b.

2. *K.M.*, f. 525-6.

3. *Ibid.*, pp., 526 ff; *F.K.*, f. 66b.

4. It was commenced in 787/1385-86—*K.M.*, p. 439.

5. *F.K.*, f. 51b; *T.H.*, II, p. 160, III, p. 23; *T.K.*, p. 23.

6. *A.Ab.*, f. 38b; *F.K.*, f. 65b.

7. *Ibid.*, ff. 61b-62a.

8. *Ibid.*, f. 62a.

9. *Ibid.*, *T.H.*, III, p. 23; *T.K.*, pp. 23-24.

10. *Ibid.*

11. Cf. *F.K.*, f. 62a.

He arrived in Kashmīr, in 796/1393¹, at the age of twenty-two², where he made Sultān Sikander (1389-1413) as his disciple.³ The Sultān built a beautiful Khānqāh for him in Srīnagar, at the spot where Saiyid 'Alī had earlier stayed during his visit to the Valley. For its maintenance he granted the revenues of the two *parganas* and the revenues of a separate *pargana* he assigned for Mīr Muḥammad's exclusive use.⁴

Soon after his arrival in Kashmīr Mīr Muḥammad plunged himself into the activity of teaching and preaching Islam. The most important person who accepted Islam at his hands was a high Hindu official Sūha Bhatta⁵, who later became his devout follower⁶. The latter adopted Saifu'd-Dīn as his Islamic name and married his daughter to the Mīr.⁷

The advent of Mīr Muḥammad in Kashmīr marked a turning point in its history. In the early years of his reign, Sultān Sikandar followed the policy of tolerance towards non-Muslims as practised by his predecessors. His principal officials such as Sūha Bhatta, Udaka, Ladrāja and Shankra were

1. Wahhāb says that the Mīr arrived there in 811/1408. But at the same time he gives the chronogram *Kāshrin pīrāhāu* (F.K., f. 62b), which gives the Mīr's date of arrival in Kashmīr, 796/1393. Miskīn gives both the dates 796/1393 and 811/1408—T.K., p. 24.
2. T.Ks., f. 9b; B.S., f. 26a; T.Km., f. 94b; A.Ab., f. 38a; T.Az., p. 42; T.H., III, p. 23.
3. T.Ks., f. 9b; F.K., f. 62b. See also R.Tj., p. 57.
4. T.Ks., ff. 10a, 12a-b; B.S., ff. 35a-b, 36a; T.Km., f. 96b; T.Kh., f. 114b; A.Ab., f. 38a; T.Az., p. 42; F.K., f. 62b; T.H., III, p. 23; T.K., p. 25.
5. T.Ks., f. 14a; T.Km., f. 95a; T.Kh., ff. 112b-113a; A.Ab., f. 38b; T.Az., p. 42; F.K., f. 62b; T.H., III, p. 23; T.K., p. 25. The office of Sūha Bhatta is not clearly known. Jonarāja calls him the "Councillor" of Sikandar (R.Tj., p. 58), whereas some Persian chronicles call him "sipah-sālār" (commander-in-chief)—T.Km., f. 95b; A.Ab., f. 38b; T.Az., p. 42.
6. Cf. R.Tj., p. 68.
7. T.Ks., f. 14a; F.K., f. 62b; T.H., III, p. 23; T.K., p. 25.

Hindus¹ and no interference were made in their religious practices.²

After the arrival of Mīr Muḥammad the attitude of Sultān Sikandar changed³ and an orthodox Islamic policy was introduced. The selling of wine, (public) dancing of women, music, and gambling were prohibited.⁴ The *jizya* on non-Muslims was imposed for the first time.⁵ Hindus were prevented from applying the *tilak* (religious mark) on their foreheads, and the custom of suttee (Hindu widow who immolates herself on her husband's funeral pyre) was banned.⁶ Ancient temples such as at Pompur, Vijabror, Mortand, Anantnāg, Sopur⁷ and Bārāmula were demolished.⁸ Jonarāja writes :

1. Cf. *R.Tj.*, pp. 55, 58; *B.S.*, f. 27a; *T.Km.*, f. 95a; *T.Kh.*, f. 112a; *A.Ab.*, f. 38b; *T.Az.*, p. 42; *F.K.*, f. 62b; *T.H.*, II, pp. 159-60; III, p. 23.
2. Cf. *R.Tj.*, pp. 54ff.
3. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 57.
4. *B.S.*, f. 26b; *T.Km.*, ff. 94b-95a; *T.H.*, II, p. 162. See also, *T.A.*, III, pt. II, p. 649.
5. *T.Ks.*, f. 13b; *T.Km.*, f. 95a; *T.Kh.*, f. 113a; *A.Ab.*, f. 38b; *T.Az.*, p. 41; *T.H.*, II, p. 160. Jonarāja (*R.Tj.*, p. 60) says that fine was imposed on non-Muslims, which can only have been the *jizya*.
6. *T.A.*, III, pt. II, p. 654; *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, II, p. 342. One modern scholar, while defending Sikandar's policy, says that if Sikandar abolished suttee, it had moral and humanitarian grounds and that in this he anticipated Akbar and Lord William Bentinck (Šūfī, *Kashmir*, I, p. 149). This judgement is incorrect. Akbar did not abolish suttee completely, but only decreed that those Hindu widows who did not want to immolate themselves along with their husbands were not to be compelled to do so. As far as Bentinck (who abolished it completely) is concerned, we must recognise that he was a man of different culture, living at a different time (there was the difference of almost five centuries between him and Sikandar). Moreover, if Akbar or Bentinck banned suttee, they did it for the betterment of their people, and not as the champions of a particular religion like Sikandar.
7. It is said that while one lofty temple was being destroyed at Sopūr, a copper tablet came to light, on which written in Sanskrit was the prophecy that a person named Sikandar would destroy the temple—*T.H.*, II, p. 161. See also *T.A.*, III, pt. II, pp. 648-49.
8. *R.Tj.*, p. 160; *T.Ks.*, ff. 11b-12a, 13a, 14a; *F.K.*, f. 72a; *T.H.*, II, pp. 160-2. See also *T.A.*, III, pt. II, p. 648.

“The good fortune of the subjects left them, and so the king forgot his kingly duties and took delight, day and night, in breaking images.”¹

The question arises whether Mīr Muḥammad was exclusively responsible for the change in state policy or whether the new regulations only had his tacit backing and were the changes dictated by political reasons. Both Hindu² and Muslim³ sources are unanimous that Sultān Sikandar introduced Islamic orthodoxy on the advice of Mīr Muḥammad. Jonarāja writes: “The king waited on him [Mīr Muḥammad] daily, humble as a servant, and like a student he daily took his lessons from him. He placed Muḥammad before him, and was attentive to him like a slave”⁴ The medieval Muslim sources⁵ inform us emphatically that infidelity was uprooted from Kashmir through Mīr Muḥammad’s influence.

The above statements show that Mīr Muḥammad was not ready to give the status of *Zimmīs* to the Hindus of Kashmīr and treated them as *Kāfirs* who were not obedient to Islam but were at war with it.⁶ His attitude was strongly opposed by Saiyid Muḥammad Ḥiṣārī, another Kubraviya saint.

Saiyid Ḥiṣārī hailed from Ḥiṣār, where his ancestors had

1. *R.Tj.*, pp. 59-60.

2. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 57; *T.Ks.*, f. 98a.

3. *T.Ks.*, ff. 9b, 13b; *B.S.*, ff. 26b, 35a; *A.Ab.*, f. 38a-b; *T.Az.*, p. 43; *F.K.*, f. 62b; *T.H.*, III, p. 24, 25; *T.K.*, p. 25. See also *T.A.*, III, pt. II, pp. 647-48.

4. *R.Tj.*, p. 57.

5. See note 5, p. 133.

6. Sultān Sikandar Lodī (1489-1517), who wanted to destroy some Hindu temples, was told by a Qāzī: “It is not permissible to injure a temple of long standing”. Sikandar Lodī on hearing this told the Qāzī in anger that he was taking the side of the infidel and he would first kill him and would then proceed with his mission. “I have exposed what the *sharī’a*, says”, replied the Qāzī, “if you do not bether about the *sharī’a*, then there is no need to ask (for legal advice)” — ‘Abdu’llāh, *Tārīkh-i-Dāwudī*, p. 29.

migrated from Sāmān, a village in Balkh.¹ He seems to have been highly educated and an eminent Ṣūfī.² The date of his arrival in Kashmīr is not known, but apparently he reached there some time between 1389 and 1393, before the arrival of Mīr Muḥammad³, in the reign of Sultān Sikandar.⁴ He took up his residence at Nauhatta, in Srinagar, where he spent the rest of his life as a recluse.⁵ The Sultān used to visit him daily and held him in great esteem.⁶ After the arrival of Mīr Muḥammad the Sultān was increasingly drawn towards him, and according to hagiological literature, this brought Saiyid Ḥiṣārī in conflict both with Sultān and Mīr Muḥammad. It is said that the latter used to complain to the Sultān that he showed greater regard to the young Mīr than he did to himself who was very old.⁷ The account of conflict between Mīr Muḥammad and Saiyid Ḥiṣārī as given in the hagiological literature shows that their differences were personal; but there seem to have been deeper reasons behind the conflict between the two.

Mīr Muḥammad was no match for Saiyid Ḥiṣārī⁸, in fact the Mīr had recognised him as superior to himself when he sought a *khilāfat-nāmā* from him.⁹ The life of retirement and

1. *A.Ab.*, f. 42b; *T.Az.*, p. 43; *T.H.*, III, p. 22.

2. Cf. *T.Ks.*, f. 10a; *A.Ab.*, ff. 41b, 42b; *T.Az.*, pp. 43, 44; *T.H.*, III, p. 22; *T.K.*, pp. 22-3.

3. Cf. *T.Az.*, p. 3.

4. *T.Ks.*, f. 10a; *B.S.*, f. 37a; *A.Ab.*, f. 42a; *T.Az.*, p. 43; *T.H.*, III, p. 22; *T.K.*, p. 22.

5. *A.Ab.*, f. 42b; *T.Az.*, p. 44; *T.K.*, p. 23.

6. *T.Ks.*, f. 10a; *T.Az.*, p. 43.

7. *T.Ks.*, f. 10a; *B.S.*, f. 37a; *A.Ab.*, ff. 38a, 42a; *T.Az.*, pp. 43-4; *F.K.*, f. 65b; *T.H.*, III, pp. 24-5; *T.K.*, p. 25.

8. It is said that in a discussion, Saiyid Ḥiṣārī accused Mīr Muḥammad of being ignorant of religious knowledge, and Saiyid 'Alī appeared to his son, who was disappointed, in a dream and said: "I had advised you not to undertake any journey unless you had fully completed your education. Now what you are facing today is the result of violating my advice."—*T.Ks.*, f. 10a-b; *F.K.*, f. 65b. See also *T.H.*, III, pp. 24-25.

9. *T.Ks.*, f. 10b; *T.Az.*, p. 42; *T.H.*, III, p. 25; *T.K.*, p. 25.

asceticism which Saiyid Ḥiṣārī led prevents us from concluding that he opposed Mīr Muḥammad for worldly motives. It is not unlikely that Saiyid Ḥiṣārī did not like the way in which Mīr Muḥammad and his patrons were preaching Islam; and his complaint to the Sultān was against the unhealthy influence of the Mīr. This is supported by the subsequent change in the attitude of Sultān Sikandar, as Jonarāja says that the Sultān “fixed with some difficulty a limit to the advance of the great sea of the Yavanas,”¹ and abolished *jizya* (*турушkadanda*).²

Thus, feeling the change in Sultān Sikandar’s attitude and particularly on account of Saiyid Ḥiṣārī’s opposition,³ Mīr Muḥammad decided to leave the Valley after a stay of twelve years (808/1405).⁴ He went first to Mecca and thence to Khatlān, where he died⁵ and was buried near the tomb of his father.⁶

Saiyid Ḥiṣārī continued to live in Kashmīr and died there. He was buried at *moḥalla* Nauhatta.⁷ Throughout his life

1. *R.Tj.*, p. 65. The original meaning of “Yavana” was Ionian or Greek. But later on it was applied to any foreigner, including Muslims (cf. Monier Williams, *Sanskrit English Dictionary*, p. 848). Jonarāja, however, applies the term particularly to Saiyids, and “mlechcha” for common Muslims.
2. Jonarāja, *Rājataranginī*, ed. Srikanth Kaul, p. 112 (s. 609).
3. *B.S.*, f. 37a; *A.Ab.*, f. 38b; *T.H.*, III, p. 25.
4. *T.Ks.*, f. 14a; *T.Az.*, p. 42. According to Wāhhāb the Mīr left in 819/1416 and at the same time he says that Mīr Muḥammad stayed in the Valley for twelve years (*F.K.*, f. 65b). Even if we accept Wāhhāb’s date of the Mīr’s arrival in Kashmīr (811/1408, see *supra*, p. 130, n. 6), the Mīr should have left in 823/1420 (811 + 12). Likewise, both Ḥasan and Miskīn are wrong when they say that the Mīr left in 817/1414—*T.H.*, III, p. 25; *T.K.*, p. 25.
5. The exact date of his death is not known. According to Wāhhāb, he died on 17 Rabi’u’l-Auwal, 887/6 May, 1482 (*F.K.*, f. 65b), whereas Ḥasan and Miskīn assert that he died on 17 Rabi’u’l-Auwal 854/30 April, 1450—*T.H.*, III, p. 25; *T.K.*, p. 25.
6. *B.S.*, f. 37a-b; *A.Ab.*, f. 38b; *T.Az.*, p. 43; *F.K.*, f. 65b; *T.H.*, III, p. 25; *T.K.*, p. 25.
7. *A.Ab.*, f. 42b; *T.Az.*, p. 44; *T.H.*, III, p. 22; *T.K.*, p. 23.

he led a celibate¹ life and seems to have left no disciple of eminence.

Disciples of Mīr Muḥammad

According to some hagiological writers² three hundred saints and scholars came with Mīr Muḥammad to Kashmir, but not more than the following nine are described by them. It seems that the number is much exaggerated and if others came also they were of minor importance.

Saiyid Ḥusain Shīrāzī, commonly known as Qāzī Walī,³ belonged to Shīrāz, where he held the post of a qāzī.⁴ Because of a sound knowledge of *fiqh* and *ḥadīṣ*, which he is said to have possessed. Sultān Sikandar appointed him the qāzī of Kashmir.⁵ However, he soon gave up his post and spent the rest of his life as a recluse at Narparistān, in Srīnagar.⁶

Another companion of Mīr Muḥammad was Saiyid Aḥmad Sāmānī⁷ bin Saiyid Kamālu'd-Dīn bin Saiyid Maḥmūd.⁸ He was also an 'ālim and the author of a lost treatise called *Tanwīr-i-Sirāj*, on the law of inheritance.⁹ Sultān Sikandar appointed him too as a qāzī.¹⁰ After his death he was buried at Faṭḥkadal, in Srīnagar.¹¹

Two other distinguished companions of Mīr Muḥammad

1. *Ibid.*
2. *T.Az.*, p. 42; *F.K.*, f. 62b; *T.H.*, III, p. 23; *T.K.*, p. 24.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 44; *Ibid.*, f. 73a; *Ibid.*, p. 26; *Ibid.*, p. 30.
4. *T.Ks.*, f. 11a; *B.S.*, f. 32a; *T.Az.*, p. 44.
5. *Ibid.*, *F.K.*, f. 73b; *T.H.*, III, p. 26; *T.K.*, p. 30.
6. *T.Az.*, p. 44; *F.K.*, f. 73b; *T.H.*, III, p. 26; *T.K.*, p. 30.
7. Wahhāb and Ḥasan call him Saiyid Muḥammad Sāmānī—*F.K.*, f. 72b; *T.H.*, III, p. 25.
8. *T.Ks.*, f. 10b; *T.Az.*, p. 44; *T.K.*, p. 27.
9. *T.Ks.* f. 10b; *T.Az.*, p. 44; *F.K.*, f. 72b; *T.H.*, III, p. 25; *T.K.*, p. 27.
10. *F.K.*, ff. 72b-73a.
11. *T.Ks.*, ff. 10a-11a; *T.Az.*, p. 44; *F.K.*, f. 73a; *T.H.*, III, p. 25; *T.K.*, pp. 27-28.

were Saiyid Muḥammad¹ and Saiyid Ṣadru'd-Dīn. Saiyid Muḥammad originally belonged to Loristān² and Saiyid Ṣadru'd-Dīn hailed from *Khurāsān*.³ Both of them were good architects⁴ and built the mosque (*Jāmi'-masjid*) at Sikandarpura,⁵ which was completed in 804/1401.⁶ This masque was constructed on the site of an old temple,⁷ which was razed to the ground.⁸ Saiyid Muḥammad breathed his last in 819/1416⁹ and was buried near the *Jāmi'-masjid*.¹⁰ Saiyid Ṣadru'd-Dīn, however, outlived him by two years and died in 821/1418¹¹; he was buried near Zainakadal in Srinagar.¹²

1. According to Mullā (*K.S.*, f. 14b), Saiyid Muḥammad arrived in Kashmīr during the reign of Sultān Zainu'l-'Ābidīn (1420-1470). This means that he did not come to Kashmīr along with Mīr Muḥammad. But this is wrong for Saiyid Muḥammad is said to have constructed the *Jāmi'-masjid* in Kashmīr, along with Saiyid Ṣadru'd-Dīn, which was completed in 1401, nineteen years before Zainu'l-'Ābidīn came to the throne.
2. *K.S.*, f. 14b; *F.K.*, f. 74a.
3. *T.Ks.*, f. 13a; *B.S.*, f. 35b; *K.S.*, f. 12b; *F.K.*, f. 74a.
4. *T.Ks.*, f. 13a; *A.Ab.*, f. 35b; *K.S.*, f. 12b; *T.Az.*, pp. 45-46.
5. *T.Ks.*, f. 13a; *A.Ab.*, f. 35b; *T.Az.*, pp. 45, 46; *F.K.*, f. 74a; *T.H.*, III, pp. 28, 29; *T.K.*, p. 26. Sikandarpura is now called Nauhatta, a suburb in Srinagar.
6. *T.Ks.*, f. 13a. According to Wahhāb the mosque was completed in 814/1411 (*F.K.*, f. 74a), which is wrong as he himself says that it was completed before the departure of Mīr Muḥammad who left the Valley in 808/1405. The present mosque, which according to Lawrence is "Saracenic" (*The Valley of Kashmīr*, p. 290), is not that which Saiyid Muḥammad and Saiyid Ṣadru'd-Dīn designed. The earlier mosques caught fire many times, even during the reign of Aurangzeb (1658-1707), who rebuilt it in 1090/1679—*F.K.*, f. 74b.
7. Lawrence believes that it was a Buddhist shrine—*op. cit.*, p. 291.
8. *T.Ks.*, f. 13a; *F.K.*, f. 74a.
9. *T.H.*, III, p. 28.
10. *T.Ks.*, f. 29a; *A.Ab.*, f. 37b; *T.Az.*, p. 46; *F.K.*, f. 74b; *T.H.*, III, p. 28; *T.K.*, p. 26.
11. *F.K.*, f. 74b; *T.H.*, III, p. 29.
12. *T.Az.*, p. 46; *F.A.*, f. 74b; *T.H.*, III, p. 29; *T.K.*, p. 26.

Another companion of Mīr Muḥammad of some eminence was Saiyid Ḥusain Khwārazmī. He was held in great esteem by Sultān Sikandar who appointed him the tutor of his two sons, 'Alī Shāh and Zai'nu'l-'Ābidīn.¹ It is said that when, on the advice of Mīr Muḥammad, the temple at Muniwār in Srīnagar, was destroyed, Saiyid Ḥusain was asked by his preceptor to live there.² He spent the rest of his life there and was buried in the same *moḥalla*.³

Saiyid Nūru'd-Dīn was the nephew of Saiyid Ḥusain,⁴ who had come to Kashmir during the reign of Sultān Shihābu'd-Dīn.⁵ According to Miskīn,⁶ Saiyid Nūru'd-Dīn received his early education from Saiyid Ḥusain. He is buried near *Rang-masjid*, in Srīnagar.⁷

Saiyid Jalālu'd-Dīn Bukhārī was also one of the companions of Mīr Muḥammad. Nothing is known about him except that he lies buried at *Mazār-i-Salāṭīn*, in Srīnagar.⁸

Saiyid Muḥammad Madanī, commonly known in Kashmir as "Madīn Ṣāhib", was originally from Madīna.⁹ He left his home and entered the service of Tīmūr.¹⁰ When Tīmūr invaded India, he took Saiyid Madanī with him. From Sind he deputed Saiyid Madanī, in 801/1399,¹¹ as his envoy to the court of Sultān Sikandar of Kashmir.¹² Impressed by the patronage, Sultān Sikandar gave to Muslim saints and scholars.

1. *T.Ks.*, f. 12a; *F.K.*, f. 73a; *T.H.*, III, p. 29.

2. *T.Ks.*, ff. 11b-12a; *T.Az.*, p. 46; *F.K.*, f. 73a; *T.H.*, III, p. 29; *T.K.*, p. 33.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *T.Ks.*, 11a; *T.Az.*, p. 45; *F.K.*, f. 73b; *T.H.*, III, p. 27; *T.K.*, p. 32.

5. See for his bibliography supra p. 114.

6. *T.K.*, p. 32.

7. *T.Ks.*, ff. 11a-30a; *T.Az.*, p. 45; *F.K.*, f. 73b; *T.H.*, III, p. 27; *T.K.*, p. 32.

8. *T.Ks.*, f. 11b; *T.Az.*, p. 45; *T.H.*, III, p. 27; *T.K.*, p. 32.

9. Nizāmu'd-Dīn Shāmī, *Zafar-Nāmā*, I, p. 177; *A.Ab.*, f. 39a; *K.S.*, f. 9a; *F.K.*, f. 73b.

10. *Ibid.*

11. *Zafar-Nāmā*, I, p. 177.

12. *Ibid.*, I, p. 177; *A.Ab.*, f. 39a; *T.Az.*, p. 46; *F.K.*, f. 73b; *T.H.*, III, p. 29; *T.K.*, p. 30.

Saiyid Madanī, after completing his mission as an envoy, returned with his family to Kashmīr, and settled there.¹

In Kashmīr he became the desciple of Mīr Muḥammad,² but, unlike his preceptor, Saiyid Madanī did not show any interest in teaching or preaching, and lived a quiet life at Rainawārī, in Srīnagar.³ He does not seem to have received any special favour from Sultān Sikandar, whose patronage had drawn him to Kashmīr. However, when Zainu'l-Ābidīn came to the throne, he became a devotee of Saiyid Madanī and asked him to move to his new capital at Naushahra.⁴ There he built for him a *Khānqāh* near his own palace⁵. Saiyid Madanī died on 11 Rajab, 849/13 October, 1445,⁶ and his tomb at Naushahra still exists.

Saiyid 'Alā'd-Dīn Bukhārī,⁷ another companion of Mīr Muḥammad, was the descendant of Makhdūm Jahāniyān,⁸ the celebrated Suhrawardī saint. Sultān Sikandar, on the recommendation of Mīr Muḥammad, assigned the revenue of the

1. *A.Ab.*, f. 39a-b; *T.Az.*, p. 46; *F.K.*, f. 73b; *T.H.*, III, p. 29; *T.K.*, p. 30.

2. *T.Az.*, p. 46; *F.K.*, f. 73b; *T.H.*, III, p. 29; *T.K.*, p. 30. Saiyid 'Alī wrongly says that Saiyid Madanī had come to Kashmīr with Mīr Muḥammad—*T.Ks.*, f. 28b.

3. *A.Ab.*, f. 30b; *T.Az.*, p. 46; *F.K.*, f. 73b; *T.H.*, III, p. 29; *T.K.*, p. 30.

4. *T.Ks.*, f. 28b; *A.Ab.*, f. 40b; *F.K.*, f. 74a; *T.H.*, III, p. 30; *T.K.*, p. 31.

5. *A.Ab.*, f. 40b; *F.K.*, f. 74a.

6. *F.K.*, f. 74a. Ḥasan and Miskīn give the date of his death as 11 Rajab, 894/10 June 1488 (*T.H.*, III, p. 30; *T.K.*, p. 39). But Miskīn himself, elsewhere (*T.K.* p. 31) says that the funeral prayer of Saiyid Madanī was led by Shaikh Bahāu'd-Dīn Ganjbakhsh (d. 849/1445), which is also supported by earlier sources—cf. *A.Ab.*, f. 41a; *F.K.*, f. 74a.

7. Ḥasan and Miskīn call him "Baihaqī"—*T.H.*, III, p. 26; *T.K.*, p. 31.

8. *T.Ks.* f. 11b; *A.Ab.*, f. 43a; *T.Az.*, p. 44; *F.K.*, f. 73a; *T.H.*, III, p. 26; *T.K.*, p. 31.

village Sikandarpura¹ in *pargana* Biru, for his maintenance.² He settled down at Sikandarpura, and was buried there after his death.³

Saiyid 'Alā'u'd-Dīn had four sons, Saiyid Ṣiyā'u'd-Dīn, Saiyid Muḥammad, Saiyid Tāju'd-Dīn and Saiyid Fakhru'd-Dīn. Saiyid Ṣiyā'u'd-Dīn also called Saiyid Zīrak, lies buried at the village of Kandhom in Bārāmūla district,⁴ Saiyid Muḥammad⁵ and Saiyid Tāju'd-Dīn⁶ were buried at Sikandarpura, near the grave of their father.

Saiyid Fakhru'd-Dīn died in his youth,⁷ leaving behind a young son named Saiyid Ḥājī Murād.⁸ He was educated by his uncle, Saiyid Zīrak,⁹ and later he went on pilgrimage, and then travelled to Irān and Central Asia.¹⁰ At Madīna¹¹ he came into contact with Shaikh Ishāq, a Shattārī saint, and became his disciple.¹² But when he reached Khwārazm he met Shaikh 'Abdu'llāh Burzishābādī, a Kubraviya saint, and

1. This village should not be taken for the town of Sikandarpura in Srinagar, which was founded by Sultān Sikandar. It is not possible to identify the village Sikandarpura with certainty, but it may be the modern village of Singhpora, as this is the only known settlement with a name in Biru.
2. *T.Ks.*, f. 11a-b; *F.K.*, f. 73a.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *T.Ks.*, f. 29a; *A.Ab.*, f. 43b; *T.Az.*, p. 45; *F.K.*, f. 74b; *T.H.*, III, p. 27; *T.K.*, p. 31.
5. *T.H.*, III, p. 27; *T.K.*, p. 32.
6. *T.Ks.*, ff. 28b-29a; *T.Az.*, p. 45; *F.K.*, f. 73a; *T.H.*, III, p. 27; *T.K.*, p. 31.
7. *T.Ks.*, f. 28b; *A.Ab.*, f. 43b; *T.Az.*, p. 45; *F.K.*, f. 73a; *T.H.*, III, p. 27; *T.K.*, p. 32.
8. *A.Ab.*, f. 99b; *T.Az.*, p. 61; *T.H.*, III, p. 40; *T.K.*, p. 32.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *T.K.*, f. 30a; *A.Ab.*, f. 99b; *T.Az.*, p. 61; *T.H.*, III, p. 41; *T.K.*, p. 32.
11. *T.Ks.*, f. 30a; *T.K.*, p. 3'. A'zamī and Ḥasan says that he met Shaikh Ishāq in Iran (*T.Az.*, p. 61; *T.H.*, III, p. 41). But Shaikh Ishāq seems to have been the same person who taught and initiated Bābā 'Usmān and Saiyid Ḥusain Rūmī into Sufism, at Madīna—cf. *T.Ks.*, f. 30a. See also *infra*, pp. 153, 154.
12. *T.Ks.*, f. 30a; *A.Ab.*, f. 99b; *K.S.*, f. 10a; *T.Az.*, p. 61; *T.H.*, III, p. 41; *T.K.*, p. 32.

enrolled himself among his disciples.¹ After receiving the *khilafāt-nāmā* from him,² Saiyid Murād returned to Kashmīr in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh,³ and settled at the village of Krairī in the *pargana* Krūhin.⁴ Unlike his predecessors, Saiyid Murād did not accept government grants or gifts, but earned his living by cultivating a piece of land.⁵ He breathed his last in 895/1489⁶ and was buried in his *khānqāh* in Krairī.⁷

Baihaqī Saiyids

Another influential group of Kubraviya saints who came to Kashmīr was that of the Baihaqī Saiyids. This family produced not only remarkable Ṣūfis, but also important politicians. They claimed their descent from one Saiyid Tāju'd-Dīn of Baihaq,⁸ who is said to have been an eminent saint of that town.⁹

Saiyid Tāju'd-Dīn had two sons named Saiyid Muḥammad and Saiyid Nūru'd-Dīn.¹⁰ Saiyid Muḥammad and his nephew Saiyid Ḥusain¹¹ bin Saiyid Nūru'd-Dīn migrated to

1. *T.Az.*, p. 61; *T.H.*, III, p. 41; *T.K.*, p. 32.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *T.Ks.*, f. 30a. It is not stated during what period of the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, who ruled four times (1484-86, 1493-1505, 1514-15 and 1517-28), he reached Kashmīr. However, from the date of his death it seems that he arrived there during the first period.

4. *T.Ks.*, f. 30a; *K.S.*, f. 10a; *T.Az.*, p. 61; *T.H.*, III, p. 41; *T.K.*, p. 32. Krūhin is to the west of Kashmīr, just before the river Jehlum flows out of the valley.

5. *T.Az.*, p. 61; *T.H.*, III, p. 41; *T.K.*, p. 32.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

7. *T.Ks.*, f. 30a; *K.S.*, f. 10a; *T.Az.*, p. 61; *T.H.*, III, p. 41; *T.K.*, p. 32.

8. *F.T.*, f. 75a; *T.H.*, III, p. 32; *T.K.*, pp. 27, 35. Baihaq is the modern town of Sabzavār *Khurāsān*.

9. *T.H.*, III, p. 32.

10. *F.K.*, f. 75a; *F.Q.*, f. 189a; *T.H.*, III, pp. 31-3; *T.K.*, pp. 27, 35.

11. The author of *B.S.*, (f. 33b) and A'zamī (*T.Az.*, p. 47) call him Saiyid Ḥasan. But in fact Saiyid Ḥasan was the name of his son (see *infra*, p. 150, for his bibliography). A'zamī, however, at another place rightly calls him Saiyid Ḥusain and his son Saiyid Ḥasan—*T.Az.*, p. 52.

Kashmīr, along with their families, during the reign of Sultān Sikandar.¹

The Hamadānī Saiyids—Saiyid ‘Alī and his disciples—were mainly teachers and preachers, and sought the help of the Sultāns and their nobles to spread the faith of Islam ; but the Baihaqī Saiyids generally concentrated their energies on establishing family relations with the ruling house and the high officers of the government. Soon after their arrival in Kashmīr they made matrimonial alliances with the royal family. Saiyid Muḥammad’s daughter known as Baihaqī Begum, was married to prince Shāhī Khān (Zainu’l-‘Ābidīn).² Later his great-grand-daughter, Hayāt Khātūn, was married to Sultān Ḥasan Shāh (1472-84).³

The family relations with the ruling house helped the Baihaqī Saiyids to obtain important posts in the administration⁴ such as that of *wazīr*. They took active part in the intrigues and rebellions which followed the death of Zainu’l-‘Ābidīn. Sultān Ḥasan Shāh, the grandson of Zainu’l-‘Ābidīn, exiled the Baihaqī Saiyids, including his father-in-law, Saiyid Ḥasan Baihaqī, grandson of Saiyid Muḥammad Baihaqī. According to Shrivara, Ḥasan Shāh considered them as “turbulent chiefs.”⁵ However, from Shrivara’s following statements it seems that their exile was caused through the machination of the Sultān’s *wazīr*, Malik Aḥmad Yattū.⁶

Meanwhile the nobles of the court were divided into two parties, one headed by Malik Aḥmad Yattū and the other by Tāzī Bhatt, who was an important military chief and a trusted friend of the Malik before the Baihaqī Saiyids were exiled.⁷ Thus, in order to destroy Tāzī Bhatt, he sought the help of the Baihaqī Saiyids and recalled them from Delhi.⁸ But

1. *T.Az.*, p. 27; *T.H.*, III pp. 31, 32; *T.K.*, p. 27.

2. *R.Ts.*, p. 157; *T.Ks.*, f. 17b; *T.H.*, III, p. 33; *T.K.*, p. 35.

3. *R.Ts.*, p. 241; *T.H.*, II, p. 190.

4. Cf. *R.Ts.*, p. 251; *B.S.*, ff. 50b-51a.

5. *R.Ts.*, p. 222.

6. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 241.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 238-41.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 241-43.

these ambitious Saiyids had not forgotten the wrong he had done to them. As soon as they had re-established themselves, they intrigued against Malik Aḥmad and had him imprisoned, and the post of *wazīr* was assumed by Saiyid Ḥasan.¹ Meanwhile Sultān Ḥasan Shāh died and the Baihaqī Saiyids put on the throne his minor son, Muḥammad Shāh (whose first reign period was 1484-1486), who was also the grandson of Saiyid Ḥasan through his daughter Ḥayāt *Khātūn*.² The Baihaqī Saiyids now started harassing other prominent Kashmiri nobles,³ who in turn hatched a plot against them and on 30 Zīqa'd, 889/8 December, 1484,⁴ made a surprise attack and killed fifteen of them, including Saiyid Ḥasan.⁵

A servant, though wounded, escaped and informed Saiyid Muḥammad, son of Saiyid Ḥasan, of the tragedy. He soon rushed to the scene, but the Kashmirīs had already left the place.⁶ Saiyid Muḥammad succeeded his father as the *wazīr* of Muḥammad Shāh, but the Kashmirīs soon reorganised themselves and made another attack on the Baihaqīs. The latter were defeated and obliged to leave the country once again.⁷

However, in the second half of the sixteenth century, the Baihaqīs again established themselves in Kashmir and played an even more important role in the affairs of that country. In 986/1578-79, Saiyid Mubārak Baihaqī, great-grandson of Saiyid Ḥasan, deposed Yūsuf Shāh Chak and ascended the throne himself.⁸ On account of his saintly nature, he sold the crown which the Sultāns wore, and distributed the money

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 245-51.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 267. See also p. 264.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 269.

4. *T.Az.*, p. 59; *F.K.*, f. 78b; *T.H.*, III, p. 38; *T.K.*, p. 29. According to the author of *B.S.* (f. 63b), this happened in 893/1487-8. But this seems wrong as it happened during the first reign of Muḥammad Shāh (cf. *R.Ts.*, pp. 270-71), which lasted only up to 1486.

5. *R.Ts.*, p. 272; *B.S.*, f. 63a-b; *T.Az.*, p. 58; *F.K.* f. 76b; *T.H.* III, p. 48; *T.K.*, p. 29.

6. *R.Ts.*, pp. 272-3; *B.S.*, ff. 66b-67a.

7. *R.Ts.*, pp. 291ff.

8. *B.S.*, ff. 148b-149a; *T.Az.*, p. 94.

among the poor ; after ruling a couple of months he gave up the kingship.¹

The founder of this dynasty in Kashmīr was, however, Saiyid Muḥammad Baihaqī, who, as already pointed out, arrived there in the reign of Sultān Sikandar and was warmly received by the latter. The Sultān assigned him the revenues of the *pargana* Bangil,² but he settled down in the village of Kandhom, because of which he came to be known as Saiyid Muḥammad Kandhom.³ Saiyid Muḥammad was a reputed scholar and poet, and had composed a *diwān* of forty thousand verses on Sufism.⁴ But none of his poetry has survived, as far as is known. When he died, he was buried at Kandhom,⁵ where a tomb exists bearing his name to this day.

Saiyid Husain Baihaqī-bin-Saiyid Nūru'd-Dīn was also a well known scholar, particularly of logic, and was famous as *mantiqī* ("logician") ; hence his descendants came to be known as "Mantiqī Saiyids".⁶ During the reign of 'Alī Shāh (1413-1420), Saiyid Husain migrated to India. It is said that he was suspected by Sultān 'Alī Shāh for conspiring with an Indian army, which had come to invade the Valley.⁷ This army⁸ was none but that of the Khokars which supported Zainu'l-'Ābidīn, when the latter successfully revolted against his brother, 'Alī Shāh.⁹ There is every possibility that Saiyid Husain was trying to secure the throne for Zainu'l-'Ābidīn, who was married to his cousin, Baihaqī Begum. *Bahāristān-i-Shāhī* supporting the above statement, says that 'Alī Shāh did not like the Baihaqī Saiyids and many of them left the Valley.¹⁰

1. *Ibid.*, ff. 149a-150b; *Ibid.*, p. 94.

2. *T.H.*, III, p. 33; *T.K.*, p. 35.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*, p. 32; *Ibid.*, p. 27.

7. *F.Q.*, f 189a-b; *T.H.*, III, pp. 31-32; *T.K.*, p. 27.

8. There is no evidence that the Delhi Sultāns sent any army, at this time, to invade the Valley.

9. *R.Tj.*, pp. 73-75; *T.A.*, III, Pt. II, pp. 651-2,

10. *B.S.*, ff. 38a-39b.

Thus when Zainu'l-'Ābidīn came to the throne, after defeating 'Alī Shāh, he soon recalled Saiyid Ḥusain to his court.¹ The Sultān showed great regard for the Saiyid and his wife, Baihaqī Begum, adopted the youngest son of Saiyid Ḥusain, named Saiyid Amīn, as her son.² When Saiyid Ḥusain died, he was buried in the mausoleum of the Sultāns, at *Mazār-i-Salātīn*, in Srinagar.³

Saiyid Ḥasan Mantiqī was the eldest son of Saiyid Ḥusain Baihaqī or Mantiqī.⁴ He had received his education and initiation into Kubravīya order from his father,⁵ and was widely known in Kashmīr for his scholarship.⁶ After travelling extensively in the various parts of the Valley, he finally settled at Avantipura.⁷ There he led a life of a teacher and preacher until his death.⁸

Another disciple of Saiyid Ḥusain was Saiyid Naṣīru'd-Dīn, the son of Saiyid Muḥammad Baihaqī.⁹ He was held in great esteem by Sultān Zainu'l-'Ābidīn.¹⁰ For reasons that remain unknown, he migrated to India "during the lifetime of King Jaina (Zainu'l-'Ābidīn)."¹¹ His relatives, however, recalled him during the reign of Sultān Ḥasan Shāh (1472-1484),¹² who was married to his grand-daughter.¹³ On his way to Kashmīr,

1. Ibid., f. 39a; *F.Q.*, f. 189b; *T.H.*, III, p. 32.

2. *T.Ks.*, f. 17b; *B.S.*, ff. 33b-34a; *A.Ab.*, f. 101b; *T.Az.*, p. 55; *F.K.*, f. 75a-b; *T.H.*, III, p. 32; *T.K.*, p. 27.

3. *T.Ks.*, f. 29a; *A.Ab.*, f. 101a; *T.Az.*, p. 47; *F.K.*, f. 75b; *T.H.*, III, p. 32; *T.K.*, p. 27.

4. *A.Ab.*, f. 101a; *T.Az.*, p. 52; *F.K.*, f. 75b; *T.H.*, III, p. 33; *T.K.*, p. 28.

5. *F.K.*, f. 75b.

6. *T.Az.*, p. 52; *F.K.*, f. 75b; *T.H.*, III, p. 33; *T.K.*, p. 28.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.

9. *T.H.*, III, p. 41; *T.K.*, p. 39.

10. *R.Ts.*, p. 222; *T.H.*, III, p. 42; *T.K.*, p. 39.

11. *R.Ts.*, p. 222. Ḥasan and Miskīn say that he left Kashmīr during Ḥasan Shāh's reign (*T.H.*, III, p. 42; *T.K.*, p. 39). But Shrivara, being contemporary, is more reliable.

12. *R.Ts.*, p. 251; *T.H.*, III, p. 42; *T.K.*, p. 39.

13. See *supra*, p. 145.

he fell seriously ill, reached there in an almost dying state and breathed his last only two days later.¹

Other Kubravī Saints of Kashmir

Among the Kashmīrī Kubraviya saints of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the most prominent were Shaikh Bahāu'd-Dīn and Shaikh Ya'qūb Śarfī. Shaikh Bahāu'd-Dīn, popularly called Ganjbakhsh ("bestower of treasures"), flourished in the fifteenth century. During his youth he left Kashmir to travel to Central Asia and Irān. At Khatlān he came into contact with Khwāja Ishāq Khatlānī, the celebrated disciple of Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī, and became his disciple.² After coming back to the Valley, he lived a life of retirement for some time.³ But very soon people came to know of him and a large number, including Sultān Zainu'l-Ābidīn and his wife Baihaqī Begum, began to visit him to seek his blessing.⁴ Hagiological literature attributes to him a number of miracles which are said to have made him very famous.⁵

In the later years of his life Shaikh Bahāu'd-Dīn turned a *nājzub* and used to wander from place to place.⁶ One night in

1. *R.Ts.*, pp. 251-2. Ḥasan and Miskīn suggest that he did not reach Kashmir and died at Bhimber, near the southern border of Kashmir (*T.H.*, III, p. 42; *T.K.*, p. 39). But we must, once again, accept the statement of the contemporary authority, Shrivara, who gives an account of Saiyid Naṣīr's meeting with his relatives at Srinagar—cf. *R.Ts.*, p. 252.
2. *T.Ks.*, f. 31a; *A.Ab.*, f. 108b; *K.S.*, f. 66b; *T.Az.*, p. 52; *F.K.*, f. 103a; *T.H.*, III, p. 188; *T.K.*, p. 139.
3. *A.Ab.*, f. 108a-b; *K.S.*, f. 66b; *T.Az.*, p. 52; *F.K.*, f. 103b; *T.H.*, III, p. 188; *T.K.*, p. 139.
4. *A.Ab.*, f. 109a; *K.S.*, f. 67a; *F.K.*, f. 103b; *T.H.*, III, p. 188; *T.K.*, p. 140.
5. One of the miracles attributed to Shaikh Bahāu'd-Dīn is that once Sultān Zainu'l-Ābidīn asked the Shaikh to sail with him in a boat. The Shaikh refused, but when the Sultān insisted, he threw his prayer-mat on the water and jumped on it and used it as a boat. The boatmen of the Sultān tried to catch him but in vain—*A.Ab.*, f. 109a; *F.K.*, f. 103b; *T.H.*, III, p. 188; *T.K.*, p. 140.
6. *K.S.*, f. 68a; *F.K.*, f. 103b; *T.K.*, p. 139.

849/1445,¹ while he was in a state of ecstasy, some thieves caught him at Kreshbal² and put him to death.³ The Shaikh had made a strange will to the effect that after his death his dead body should be tied with a rope and dragged to the burial ground.⁴ When Zainu'l-'Ābidīn was informed of this, in obedience to the wishes of the Shaikh, he ordered that the dead body be put on a board and then dragged to the burial ground.⁵ The corpse thus dragged was buried near Malkha, in Srinagar, now called *Mazār-i-Ganjbakhsh*.⁶

Among the disciples of Shaikh Bahāu'd-Dīn are mentioned Bābā 'Usmān and Saiyid Husain Rūmī. Bābā 'Usmān hailed from a well known family of Ganā'īs, which was noted for their learning.⁷ After completing his education, Bābā 'Usmān went on pilgrimage where he met one Shaikh Ishāq Shattārī,⁸ who initiated him into his order.⁹ Later, on his preceptor's

1. *T.Az.*, p. 52. According to Wahhāb, Hasan and Miskīn, the Shaikh died on 4 Rajab, 843/11 December 1449 (*F.K.*, f. 103b; *T.H.*, III, p. 189; *T.K.*, p. 142). Wahhāb, whom Hasan and Miskīn seem to have followed, elsewhere says that Shaikh Bahāu'd-Dīn led the funeral prayer of Saiyid Madanī, whose date of death he gives as 11 Rajab, 849/13 October, 1445 (*F.K.*, f. 71a). This would mean that Bahāu'd-Dīn outlived Saiyid Madanī.
2. Even miles to the north-west of Srinagar.⁷
3. *T.Ks.*, f. 17b; *A.Ab.*, f. 169a; *K.S.*, f. 67b; *T.Az.*, p. 52; *F.K.*, f. 103b; *T.H.*, III, p. 188; *T.K.*, p. 142.
4. *T.Ks.*, f. 18a; *T.Az.*, p. 52; *F.K.*, f. 103b; *T.H.*, III, p. 189; *T.K.*, p. 142.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. *R.N.*, f. 334b; *T.Az.*, p. 66; *T.H.*, III, p. 192; *T.K.*, p. 143.
8. Some of the sources are not consistent in giving his name. For example, Saiyid 'Alī at one place calls him Abū Ishāq Shattārī (*T.Ks.*, f. 30a) and elsewhere Qāzī Ishāq (*Ibid.*, f. 31a). Likewise A'zamī at one place gives his name as Shaikh Ishāq Shāmī (*T.Az.*, p. 53) and at another place he calls him Ishāq Shattārī—*Ibid.*, p. 66.
9. *T.Az.*, p. 66; *T.H.*, III, p. 192; *T.K.*, p. 143. According to some authorities, Shaikh Ishāq did not initiate him into his order, but advised him to return to Kashmīr and there become the disciple of Bahāu'd-Dīn, whom Shaikh Ishāq had seen at Mecca, praying every Friday—*T.Ks.*, f. 31a; *R.N.*, f. 334b; *K.S.*, f. 68a; *F.K.*, f. 104a,

advice, he returned to Kashmir.¹ There he became the disciple of Shaikh Bahāu'd-Dīn and received initiation into Kubraviya order.²

After the death of Shaikh Bahāu'd-Dīn, Bābā 'Usmān succeeded him and became a source of inspiration for many people.³ Sultān Zainu'l-'Ābidīn held him in great esteem and occasionally used to visit his *khānqāh*.⁴ When the Bābā died he was buried at *Mazār-i-Salātin*.⁵

Saiyid Ḥusain⁶ was originally a disciple of Shaikh Ishāq,⁷ the first teacher of Bābā 'Usmān. When the latter returned to Kashmir, Saiyid Ḥusain accompanied him there and he too entered into the discipleship of Shaikh Bahāu'd-Dīn.⁸ Saiyid Ḥusain breathed his last on 7 Rajab, 860/11 June, 1456⁹, and was buried at Rājurikadal,¹⁰ in the interior of Srinagar. His tomb, which still exists, remained a source of inspiration for many Kashmirī saints. It is said that Shaikh Ḥamza Makhdūm used to visit it continuously for twelve years and acknowledge the blessing he received from there.¹¹

Shaikh Yā'qūb Ṣarfī

Shaikh Yā'qūb Ṣarfī, a distinguished Kashmirī saint and

1. Ibid.

2. *T.Ks.*, f. 31a-b; *R.N.*, f. 334b; *K.S.*, f. 68a; *T.Az.*, p. 66; *F.K.*, f. 104a; *T.H.*, III, p. 192; *T.K.*, p. 143.

3. *K.S.*, f. 68a; *F.K.*, f. 104a.

4. *K.S.*, f. 68b; *T.Az.*, p. 66.

5. *R.N.*, f. 334b; *K.S.*, f. 69a; *T.Az.*, p. 66; *F.K.*, f. 104a; *T.H.*, III, p. 192; *T.K.*, p. 143.

6. His ancestors seem to have belonged to Rūm (Turkey); this is why, perhaps, he is called "Rūmī" by some sources—*T.Az.*, p. 53; *T.K.*, p. 26.

7. *T.Ks.*, f. 30a; *A.Ab.*, f. 106b; *T.Az.*, p. 53; *F.K.*, f. 104a; *F.Q.*, f. 199b; *T.H.*, III, p. 39; *T.K.*, p. 26.

8. Ibid.

9. *F.K.*, f. 104b; *T.H.*, III, p. 39. Miskīn gives the date of his death as 7 Rajab, 861/31 May, 1457—*T.K.*, p. 26.

10. *T.Ks.*, f. 30a; *A.Ab.*, f. 103b; *T.Az.*, p. 53; *F.K.*, f. 104b; *T.H.*, III, p. 40; *T.K.*, p. 26.

11. *A.Ab.*, f. 106b; *T.Az.*, p. 53; *F.K.*, f. 104b; *F.Q.*, f. 200a; *T.H.*, III, p. 40.

scholar, was born in 928/1521, at Srinagar.¹ According to later medieval Kashmiri scholars, he memorised the Qur'ān at the age of seven² and started composing verses in Persian at the same age.³ He used Ṣarfī (lit. a grammarian) as his *takhallūs* ("nom de plume").⁴ At the age of nineteen⁵ he completed his education under teachers who included Maulānā Baṣīr and Maulānā Ānī.⁶

Maulānā Ānī, who himself was the student of the celebrated Irānian Ṣūfī and poet, 'Abdu'l-Raḥmān Jāmī (d. 1492),⁷ was so impressed by Ṣarfī that he bestowed on him the title of "Jāmī-Sānī" (second Jāmī).⁸ However, eager to learn more, Shaikh Ya'qūb Ṣarfī set out to visit India, Irān and Central Asia.⁹ At Samarqand he came into contact with Maḥdūm Kamālu'd-Dīn Shaikh Ḥusain of Khwārazm, a Kubraviya saint. The Shaikh taught him the tenets of Sufism

1. *T.Az.*, p. 110; *F.K.*, f. 117a; *T.H.*, III, p. 232. Miskīn at one place gives his date of birth as 928/1521 (*T.K.*, p. 171), and elsewhere 931/1524—*T.K.*, p. 174.

2. *T.Az.*, p. 110; *F.K.*, f. 117a; *T.H.*, III, p. 232; *T.K.*, p. 171.

3. *Ibid.*

*Chu dar sāl-i-haftum nihādām, qadm,
zi tab'am rawān gasht shi'r-i-'Ajam—Dīwān*, p.c.

4. 'Abdu'l-Qādir Badāūnī, *Muntakhabu'l-Tawārikh*, I, p. 403, III, p. 142; *F.K.*, f. 117a; *T.H.*, III, p. 232; *T.K.*, p. 171. In some of his verses (cf. *Dīwān*, pp. 19, 21), Shaikh Ya'qūb uses "Ṣarfiya" as his pen name.

5. *F.K.*, f. 117a.

6. *T.Az.*, p. 110; *F.K.*, f. 117a; *T.H.*, III, p. 232. Maulānā Baṣīr (d. 946/1539) hailed from the *pargana* Kamrāj of Kashmīr. Nothing is known about his teachers, but it is said that he was a scholar of *fiqh*, *ḥadīṣ* [and *mantiq*] (*T.H.*, III, p. 212; *T.K.*, p. 146). Maulānā Ānī had emigrated to Kashmīr from Irān, some time in the beginning of the sixteenth century. As he was a student of Jāmī, he attracted many students to his seminary. *T.H.*, III, p. 213; *T.K.*, p. 155.

7. *T.Az.*, f. 110; *F.K.*, f. 117a; *T.H.*, III, pp. 212, 232; *T.K.*, pp. 146, 171.

8. *F.K.*, f. 117a; *T.H.*, III, p. 232; *T.K.*, p. 171.

9. *F.K.*, f. 118a-b.

and initiated him into the Kubravīya order.¹ Although Shaikh Ḥusain used to entrust the newly enrolled disciples to the care of his *khalīfas*, he took Shaikh Ya'qūb under his own control.² After a short time his preceptor ordered him to return to his native land.³ Before long Ṣarfī again left Kashmīr for Samarqand to see his spiritual master once more. On his arrival there, he learned that Shaikh Ḥusain had gone on pilgrimage and Ṣarfī too left for Mecca.⁴ It is not known whether he met Shaikh Ḥusain or not, but he joined the seminary of Ibn Ḥajar⁵ (d. 974/1567), where he sharpened his knowledge of the Qur'ānic commentary and *ḥadīṣ*.⁶

After some time Shaikh Ya'qūb returned to Kashmīr. His studies in the seminary of Ibn Ḥajar earned recognition for him as a great scholar, not only in Kashmīr but also in India.⁷ Among his Indian friends was the celebrated Shaikh Salīm Chishtī (d. 979/1571), who himself had travelled extensively and had performed the pilgrimage several times.⁸

Shaikh Ya'qūb seems to have visited Humāyūn (1530-39 and 1555-56) either in Kābul or in the Panjāb, and to have

1. Ṣarfī, *Risāla-i-Zikrīya*, f. 15a-b; *T.Az.*, p. 110; *F.K.*, f. 118b; *T.H.*, III, p. 233; *T.K.*, p. 171.

2. *T.Az.*, pp. 110-1; *F.K.*, f. 118b; *T.H.*, III, p. 233; *T.K.*, p. 171.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

5. Aḥmad bin Muḥammad bin 'Alī bin Ḥajar Shihābū'd-Dīn, a famous Shāfi'ī theologian, was born towards the end of 909/1504, at Mahallat, in Egypt. When he was only twenty years old he began to issue *fatwa's* and to teach. After visiting Mecca twice, he settled down there permanently on his third visit in 944/1537-8. Among his works the most famous is his commentary on *Minhāj Tal-alibān* of āl-Nawawī, *Tuḥfat al-Muḥtāj li-Shaḥ al-Minhāj*, which became the text book for the jurists of Shāfi'ī school—*Shorter Encyclopedia of Islam*, p. 147.

6. *Muntakhabu'l-Tawārīkh*, III, p. 142; *A.Ab.*, f. 239a; *T.Az.*, p. 111; *T.K.*, p. 171.

1. Cf. *Muntakhabu'l-Tawārīkh*, III, p. 142.

2. Cf. *Muntakhabu'l-Tawārīkh*, III, p. 11.

been admitted among courtiers.¹ However, Badāūnī, who says that both Humāyūn and Akbar (1556-1605) held Sarfī in great esteem, does not mention any of his activities at the Mughal court, before 980/1572. He mentions him for the first time in connection with the account of the religious discussions in the *ʿIbādāt-Khānā*, in 980/1572.² There he is said to have argued, on the basis of the *Tamhīdāt* of ʿAinu'l-Quzāt Hamadānī,³ that the Prophet Muḥammad is the personification of the title *al-hādī* (the guide) and that Iblīs (the devil) is the personification of *al-muzill* (the tempter) and both titles, in the world, stand for the Divine illumination and both personifications are therefore essential.⁴

Abū'l-Faẓl refers to Shaikh Ya'qūb Ṣarfī frequently in connection with Mughal conquest of Kashmīr, which, according to some later medieval Kashmīri sources,⁵ was initiated by Ṣarfī because of the persecution of Sunnis by Sultān Ya'qūb. We consider this question, which relates rather to political than to religious history in an appendix.⁶

However, there is no doubt that Shaikh Ya'qūb remained attached to Akbar's court for many years, where he enjoyed

1. Cf. Ibid., f. 142. Badāūnī does not say when and where Sarfī met Humāyūn. Since Ṣarfī would only eighteen years old by the end of Humāyūn's first reign, and would not even have completed his preliminary education, it is fair to assume that the two would have met some time between 1555 and 1556.
2. *Muntakhabu'l-Tawārīkh*, I, p. 259
3. Abū'l-Fazail ʿAbdu'llāh bin Muḥammad al-Miyānjī, known as ʿAinu'l-Quzāt of Hamadān, was a student of Shaikh Almad Ghazālī (d. 517/1123-4). His career was very similar to those of Ḥallāj and Suhrawardī Maqtūl, since he too met a tragic death in 633/1138-9, under the orders of Sultān Sanjar's wazīr Qiwāmu'd Dīn Abū'l Qāsim Darguzīnī. Among his works the best known is *Tamhīdāt* (cf. *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Library of India Office*, I, ff. 930-1) which has recently been published in the collection of the complete works of ʿAinu'l-Quzāt, *Aḥwāl wa Asār-i-ʿAinu'l-Quzāt*, Tehrān (1338 Iranian era).
4. *Muntakhabu'l-Tawārīkh*, I, p. 259. Cf. *Tamhīdāt*, ff. 186, 123ff.
5. *T.Az.*, p. 99; *T.H.*, II, p. 271.
6. See *infra*, appendix B.

the company of eminent scholars such as Faizī and Badāūnī. Himself a distinguished commentator, he paid glowing tribute to Faizī's commentary on the Qur'ān, entitled *Sawāti' u'l-Ilhām*.¹ About 1594,² Shaikh Ya'qūb left Lahore for Kashmir and wrote a letter to Badāūnī, in which he recalled his association with him and Faizī. The letter shows not only Sarfī's intimate friendship with Akbar's courtiers, but also his attachment to the Mughal court.

He writes :

As to the suppliant letters which from time to time I send to you, although owing to their not being worthy of an answer I do not trouble your wonder-describing pen to write one, nevertheless the pen of sincere friendship cannot be restrained from running on in (its desire of) setting forth my submission to you. I hope that whenever you sit in the Nawwāb Fazī Fayyāzī's apartment of fragrant grass, on the floor with its matting collar than the breezes of Kashmir, in the midday heat of summer, drinking the water which, although warm, has been cooled with ice, and listening to sublime talk and witty conversation (of Faizī), you will think of me, the captive of the hardships of disappointments.³

It seems that Shaikh Ya'qūb did not visit the imperial court again and died on 8 Ziqā'd, 1003/25 July, 1595.⁴ Badāūnī paid him warm tribute by recording the date of his death in the following chronogram: "He was the Shaikh of the nations" (*Shaikh-i-umam būd*).⁵ His tomb at Zainakadal, in Srinagar, is famous by the name of "Ishān-Şāhib" and is visited by many Kashmiri Muslims.

1. *Muntakhabu'l-Tawārīkh*, p. I, 393.

2. Cf. *Ibid.*, III, p. 143.

3. *Muntakhabu'l-Tawārīkh*, Eng. Tr., Haig, III, p. 203.

4. *Muntakhabu'l-Tawārīkh*, III, p. 148. Some Kashmiri sources give his date of death as 12 Ziqā'd, 1003/19 July, 1595 (*A.Ab.*, f. 139a; *F.K.*, f. 121b; *T.H.*, III, p. 237; *T.K.*, p. 172). But Badāūnī being contemporary is more reliable.

5. *Muntakhabu'l-Tawārīkh*, III, p. 148.

On Shaikh Ya'qūb's works the following survive to this day.¹

1. *Khamṣa*. This is a series of five *masnawīs* written in imitation of Nizāmī (d. 599/1203 or 605/1209). The five *masnawīs* of Ṣarfī are :
 - (a) *Maghazu'l-Nabī*,
 - (b) *Maslaku'l-Akhyār*,
 - (c) *Maqāmāt-i-Murshid*,
 - (d) *Wāmiq-'Azra*, and
 - (e) *Lailā-Majnūn*.
2. *Sharḥ-i-Bukhārī*, a Persian commentary in prose on the *Ṣaḥīḥ-i-Bukhārī* of Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl Bukhārī (194-256/809-869).
3. *Manāsiku'l-Ḥajj*, in Arabic prose and explains the rules and regulations of the pilgrimage.
4. *Risāla-i-Zikriya*. Most of this work is devoted to the importance of the *zikr* and to the legality of *zikr-i-jahr*.
5. *Dīwān*, a collection of ghazals and *rubā'yāt*.

Towards the end of his life, Badāūnī says, Shaikh Ya'qūb had commenced to write an extensive commentary on the Qur'ān.² Badāūnī, who seems to have seen some portions of this Commentary, regarded it as a remarkable contribution to scholarship.³ The writings of Shaikh Ya'qūb, both prose and poetry, exhibit the very deep impact of the works of 'Ainu'l-Quzāt and Ibn 'Arabī, whose works, according to Abū'l-Faḍl, he knew very well.⁴

In his *Risāla-i-Zikriya*, he says that God is light and those who are not able to perceive Him are like bats. The bats see nothing in the sunshine only because of their own deficiency, and the sun cannot be blamed for it. The beauty

1. The first four are in the library of the Oriental Research Department, Srīnagar, but in a very poor condition. The fifth, *Dīwān*, has been published at Srīnagar.
2. *Muntakhabu'l-Tawārīkh*, III, p. 142.
3. Ibid.
4. *A.A.*, I, p. 175.

and perfection of the Divine light, he continues, are reflected in the heart of the seeker, provided it is free from the rust of worldly desires and lust.¹ He asserts that the seeker should not neglect his real aim for a moment because it is the principle remedy to get rid of worldly desires and lusts.² A concentration upon the real object (Allāh) can be achieved through *zīkr*. When the seeker begins to find interest in *zīkr*, he becomes absorbed in it and separation from it causes great hardship and distress to him. *Zīkr* removes all distractions and impediments, which lead men to turn to objects other than God.³

The details of his *zīkr* are mainly drawn from the writings of Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī,⁴ and some other Sūfis including 'Alā'u'd-Daula Simnānī⁵ and Khwāja 'Ubaidu'llāh Aḥrār⁶ (806-895/1464-1491) the celebrated Naqshbandī saint. He also quotes the *Fusūs al-Ḥikam* of Ibn 'Arabi⁷ and finds that *zīkr*, performed silently as well as loudly, essential for a true spiritual life; each type is applicable to different circumstances.⁸ What he seeks to emphasize is the fact that the reciter of *zīkr* should forget his own self; and all differences between him and the Remembered (Allāh) should disappear.⁹ Thus he finds *murāqaba* or meditation too of great help for the Sūfis and recommends it strongly on the basis of the writings of Qushairī and 'Attār.¹⁰

Defining lawful (*ḥalāl*) food, Sarfī says, that the Sūfis, eminent *qāzīs* and 'alīms do not approve of eating meals in the house of government officers or grandees of state.¹¹ This seems

1. *Risāla-i-Zikrīya*, ff. 2b-3b.

2. *Ibid.*, f. 6b.

3. *Ibid.*, f. 8b.

4. Cf. *ibid.*, f. 9a.

5. Cf. *ibid.*, f. 27b.

6. Cf. *ibid.*, f. 9a.

7. Cf. *ibid.*, f. 27a-b.

8. *Ibid.*, f. 32a.

9. *Ibid.*, f. 32a-b.

10. *Ibid.*, f. 34b.

11. *Ibid.*, f. 13a.

to be only a theoretical recommendation, for we know that Shaikh Ya'qūb himself was very closely associated with Akbar's court and friendly with grandees such as Faizī, whom the orthodox regarded as enemies of Islam).

There is not much originality in his poetry, and his friend Badāūnī, offering an apology, says: "Poetry does not become the learned".¹ However, he tries to copy Jāmī and Faizī very closely and indeed he makes no secret of his debt to the former.² But many of his *ghazals* closely resemble those of Faizī.³

Shaikh Ya'qūb uses the favourite symbol of the idol⁴ and idol worship⁵ in the sense of the realization of the Unity, which according to Ibn 'Arabī already exists, between the Divine Being and His creatures. Similarly he refers to wine,⁶ the cup bearer,⁷ and the wine drinker,⁸ to express the Sūfī symbols designed to inculcate Divine love in the heart of the seeker. The mole,⁹ the comely face¹⁰ and the cheek,¹¹ are frequently mentioned in his poetry; these are the traditional symbols which exemplify the relationship between the Divine beauty and Its seeker.

Shaikh Ya'qūb's poetry is dominated by mystical love. He is proud of calling himself a *kāfir* of 'ishq (Divine love) and

1. *Muntakhabu'l-Tawārīkh*, III, p. 142.
2. Cf. *Dīwān*, p. 4 (line 11).
3. Cf. Šarfī, *Dīwān*, pp. 117-8, 114-5, 117 (line 14), 316-7, 179 (line 7); Faizī, *Kulliyāt-i-Faizī*, pp. 332 (poem, 333), 234 (poem, 234), 296 (line 3), 15-6, 545 (line 5), respectively.
4. Cf. *Dīwān*, pp. 132 (line 121), 75 (line 9), 8 (lines 13, 20), 174 (line 11), and 216 (line 20).
5. Cf. *Dīwān*, pp. 2 (line 3), 9 (line 9), 213 (line 21).
6. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 50 (line 11), 242 (line 19), 251 (line 14), 276 (lines, 14, 20).
7. Cf. *Dīwān*, pp. 5 (line 7), 251 (line 14), 276 (lines 14, 20).
8. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 4 (line 14), 6 (line 9), 276 (line 19).
9. *Ibid.*, p. 63 (line 1).
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 3 (line 4), 159 (line 5).
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 242 (line 20), 243 (line 1), 247 (line 6), 232 (line 8).

yearns to burn himself in the fire of love.¹ He challenges the *nāsiḥ* (adviser), who finds fault with the love of idols, to tell him if anything else is more meritorious in the world than the fault of loving idols.² Again he asserts that his faith is love of idols and his way of life is drinking and lunacy.³

The Verses of Ṣarfī also show that he was an ardent follower of *Waḥdatu'-wujūd* and he describes it boldly in lines such as :

“O, Ṣarfī ! What benefit are you going to
gain from the pilgrimage,
If Ka’ba, temple and tavern are not
identical with you”.⁴

“O, Ṣarfī ! as on every side a ray has
fallen from His face to light the night,
Impossible it is for you to say that Somnāth
has not the Ka’ba’s light.”⁵

“I see that comely face manifest in
whatever I regard,
Though I look at a hundred thousand
mirrors in all that One face is manifest.”⁶

1. Ibid., pp. 77 (line 7), 92 (line 20), 103 (line 1), 133 (line 9).

2. Ibid., p. 77 (line 17). See also p. 75 (line 6).

3. Ibid., pp. 28 (line 1), 69 (line 18).

4. *Dīwān*, p. 250 (line 5).

5. Ibid., p. 2 (line 2).

6. Ibid., p. 159 (line 5).

CHAPTER V

THE NAQSHBANDĪ AND QĀDIRĪ ORDERS

The two other Šūfī orders, besides the Suhrawardī and Kubravī, which entered Kashmīr during the period under review, were the Naqshbandī and the Qādirī orders.

Naqshbandī Order

The Naqshbandī order is one of the eldest mystic orders and was originally started in the land of the Turks beyond the Amīl Daryā. It was popularised mainly by Khwāja Bahāu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Naqshband (717-791/1317-1389).¹

In Kashmīr it was introduced by Saiyid Hilāl, who arrived there in the reign of Sultān Sikander (1389-1413).² The country of Saiyid Hilāl's origin is not known ; he is said to have been a direct disciple of Khwāja Bahāu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Naqshband.³ He lived a quiet life and died on

1. For his complete biography see *N.U.*, pp. 244ff.

2. *T.Az.*, p. 54; *F.K.*, f. 76a; *F.Q.*, f. 200b.

3. *T.Az.*, p. 54; *F.K.*, f. 76a; p. 29.

Qādirī and Ḥasan at one place say that after coming at Kashmīr he received initiation into the Kubraviya order from Saiyid Muḥammad Madanī (*F.Q.*, f. 200b; *T.H.*, III, p. 40), but at another place they mention him as a Naqshbandī saint (*F.Q.*, f. 192a; *T.H.*, III, p. 34). Ghulām Sarwar says that Saiyid Hilāl received initiation into the Kubraviya order from Mīr Muḥammad Hamadānī (*Khazīnatu'l-Aṣfiyā*, II, p. 322), but he contradicts his own statement when he says that Saiyid Hilāl arrived in Kashmīr during the reign of Sultān Zainu'l-'Ābidīn (1420-1470), whereas the Mīr left Kashmīr in the reign of Sultān Sikandar (1389-1413).

14 Rabī'u'l-Auwal, 861/9 February 1457,¹ at the village of Asham, north of Kashmīr, where he had settled down.²

Saiyid Hilāl left only one disciple, named Mīr Saiyid Amīn, popularly known in Kashmīr as "Wūsi-Şāhib", the name derived from his *nome de plume* "Waisi".³ He hailed from the celebrated Baihaqī family, and was the second son of Saiyid Husain Baihaqī or Mantiqī.⁴ Saiyid Amīn had received his early education from Ḥājī Ibrāhīm Adham.⁵ When Saiyid Hilāl arrived in Kashmīr, Saiyid Amīn became his disciple and received initiation into the Naqshbandī order.⁶

As already pointed out, Saiyid Amīn was adopted as a son by Baihaqī Begum, the wife of Sultān Zainu'l-'Ābidīn⁷;

1. *T.H.*, III, p. 40.

Ghulām Sarwar, on the authority of A'zamī, says that Saiyid Hilāl died in 862/1457-8 (*Khazīnātu'l-Asfijā*, II, p. 322), but the copy of A'zamī's work available to us does not record Saiyid Hilāl's date of death.

2. *T.Az.*, p. 54; *F.K.*, f. 76a; *F.Q.*, f. 192a; *T.H.* III, p. 40.

3. Wāhhāb and Qādirī (*F.K.*, f. 75b; *F.Q.*, f. 189b), wrongly say that he had no spiritual guide and was therefore called "Uwaisī" reference being to Uwais Qaranī who is said to have lived during the lifetime of the Prophet, but never met him. Uwais Qaranī is supposed to have had no spiritual guide and was believed to receive direct spiritual guidance supernaturally from the Prophet. Thus those of the Şūfis, who did not have any guide called themselves Uwaisī. Elsewhere both Wāhhāb and Qādirī say that Saiyid Amīn was a pupil of Ḥājī Ibrāhīm Adham and received initiation into Sufism by Saiyid Ni'matu'llāh (*F.K.*, f. 76a; *F.Q.*, f. 192a). In fact "Waisī" was his *nom de plume* (see *infra*, p. 170) which Wāhhāb and Qādirī have wrongly recorded as "Uwaisī".

4. *A.Ab.*, f. 101a; *K.S.*, f. 57b; *T.Az.*, p. 55; *F.K.*, f. 76a; *F.Q.*, f. 189b; *T.H.*, III, p. 34; *T.K.*, p. 29.

5. *Ibid.*, f. 101a; *ibid.*, f. 57b; *ibid.*, p. 58; *ibid.*, f. 76a; *ibid.*, f. 192a; *ibid.*, p. 34; *ibid.*, p. 29.

6. *Ibid.*, f. 101a; *ibid.*, f. 57b; *ibid.*, p. 58; *ibid.*, f. 76a; *ibid.*, ff. 189b, 192a; *ibid.*, III, p. 34; *ibid.*, p. 29.

7. See *supra*, p. 149.

but the life of affluence did not appear to him. Like his spiritual master, he led a life of retirement at Asham. When Saiyid Hilāl died, he moved to Srīnagar, where he confined himself to a room near Koh-i-Marān.¹

The following verses of Saiyid Amīn, recorded in some sources, show that he was a broad minded Ṣūfī, above all religious prejudices.² He says :

“Do not scorn infidelity,
To those who have found out truth,
it is not different from faith”.³

Again he says :

“To an ‘*ārīf* the differences between the
mosque and temple are meaningless.
Men endowed with spiritual eminence,
find both good and evil identical.”⁴

About the mystical union he says :

“I want *wiṣāl*, I do not want either this
world or the other,
I worship God, I do not worship houses or walls”.⁵

He advises those who have attained *unio mystica* to forget everything and not to bother themselves even with separation or union.

“To Your lovers separation and unity are identical.
Neither does the union make them happy
nor does the separation lead them to despair.”⁶

The only form of worship which he advocated was the mystical love of God.

1. *A.Ab.*, ff. 101b-102a; *K.S.*, f. 58a; *T.Az.*, pp. 55, 58; *F.K.*, f. 76a; *F.Q.*, f. 192a; *T.H.*, III, pp. 34, 37; *T.K.*, p. 29.

2. Although it is not necessary that the poetical expressions of a person should conform with his beliefs but in this case these certainly seem to represent the author's religious beliefs. See, for instance, the verses on p. 170, and the anecdote quoted on pp. 170-1.

3. Cited in *F.K.*, f. 87b.

4. Cited in *ibid.*, f. 78b; *F.Q.*, f. 191b; *T.K.*, p. 29.

5. *Ibid.* He refers to the worship of the Ka'ba either directly or in the form of the *qibla* in the mosque.

6. *Ibid.*

"If you ask Waist about religion or sect,
He leads the worshippers of God with the religion of
love".¹

Saiyid Amīn most eloquently expresses his faith in the doctrine of *waḥdatu'l-wujūd*, in the following lines :

"The world and the men of the world are endowed
with the essence of the Eternal,
If you look deeply (you) will find everything
in the human being."²

Further he says :

"The entire universe is with me,
My abode is beyond (the mystical state of) *lāmakān*.
O 'ālim ! My body is (itself a) universe,
Know ! The soul of universe is my soul".³

It is said that when people used to come to see him, his attendant would inform them of his presence in two forms : "*Mīr ba khudā ast*" (The Mīr is with God), or "*Mīr ba khudā wa ba khwud ast*" (The Mīr is with God and with himself). The first state was intended to indicate that he was seized with mystical ecstasy. His visitors then went away without seeing him. The second statement meant that although he was in a state of ecstasy, he was in his senses, and people could visit him.⁴

Although Saiyid Amīn had kept away from the royal court and its politics, he became the victim of a political intrigue. As we have already seen,⁵ some disgruntled Kashmīrī nobles, who had become alienated from the Baihaqī Saiyids because of their arrogance, made a surprise attack on them on 30 Ziqā'd 889/8 December 1484, and killed fifteen members of the family. Among these was the inoffensive Saiyid Amīn.⁶

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. *F.Q.*, f. 190a; *T.H.*, III, pp. 34-5.

4. *T.Az.*, p. 58; *T.H.*, III, p. 37; *T.K.*, pp. 28-9.

5. See supra p. 147.

6. *B.S.*, ff. 63b-66b; *A.Ab.*, ff. 102b-103a; *K.S.*, f. 57b; *T.Az.*, p. 58; *F.K.*, f. 76b; *F.Q.*, f. 194a; *T.H.*, III, p. 38; *T.K.*, pp. 29, 39.

He was later buried at 'Āikadal,¹ on the right bank of the river Jehlum; in Srinagar, where his tomb exists to this day.

Saiyid Amīn either did not enrol disciples or left on follower worthy of mention. Thus after his death the Naqshbandī order remained unknown in Kashmīr for more than century. It was revived by *Khawāja Khāwand Maḥmūd* (d. 11 Sha'bān, 1052/4 November 1642), who arrived there at the end of the sixteenth century.² The *Khawāja* was the son of *Khawāja Mīr Saiyid Sharīf*, who claimed descent from *Khawāja 'Alā'u'd-Dīn 'Attār* (d. Rajab 802/March 1400), a distinguished disciple of *Khawāja Bahā'ud-Dīn Naqshband*.³

Khawāja Khāwand was initiated in the order by *Khawāja Abū Ishāq Safedkī*, but he claimed to have received inspiration direct from *Bahā'u'd-Dīn Naqshband*.⁴ Before entering Kashmīr from Kābul, *Khawāja Khāwand* had journeyed to many countries. The *Khawāja* did not stay there for long and soon left for Agra⁵. However, in the seventeenth century, when *Khawāja Khāwand* made several further visits to Kashmīr, the Naqshbandī order received a great impetus there.⁶

The Qādirī Order

The Qādirī order was originally founded by a celebrated saint of Baghdād named *Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qādir Jīlānī* (471-561/1078-1165).⁷ He was a prolific writer, and his works⁸ became the main source of Qādirī doctrines and practices. His disci-

1. *A.Ab.*, f. 103a; *K.S.*, f. 57b; *F.K.*, f. 76b; *T.H.*, III, p. 38.
2. He was at Wakhsh in 994/1585-86 and after staying there for some years he went to Kābul and then to Kashmīr; Muḥammad Mu'īnu'd-Dīn, *Mirāt-i-Taiba*, pp. 84-6, 125-6, cited by Rizvi, *Muslim Revivalist Movement in Northern India*, p. 183.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 183-5.
7. For his full biography, see *N.U.*, p. 340.
8. Among his works the best known are *Al-Ghunya li Tālib Tariq Hal-aq*, *Al Faṭḥ al-Rabbānī* and *Futūḥ al-Ghā'ib*; cf. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, I, pp. 69-70.

ples, who even during his lifetime had become very large in number, popularised his teachings as far as Syria, Egypt and Yemen. Their followers in subsequent generations disseminated them to other corners of the Islamic world.¹

The order, according to available information, was first introduced in Kashmīr some time in the second half of the sixteenth century, by Saiyid Ni'matu'llāh Shāh Qādirī.² He claimed to be the direct descendant of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qādir Jīlānī.³ Before coming to Kashmīr, he had lived somewhere in India, most probably in the Panjāb, where he was a disciple of one Shaikh Muḥammad Darwesh Qādirī.⁴ According to Muḥammad Husain Qādirī, the author of *Futūḥāt-i-Qādirīya*, Saiyid Ni'matu'llāh was a prolific writer,⁵ but he does not mention the title of a single treatise written by the Saiyid. All his biographers are unanimous in saying that he avoided the company of the ruling classes and spent most of his time in *samā'*.⁶

Saiyid Ni'matu'llāh did not stay long in Kāshmir and soon left for India.⁷ Among his disciples in Kashmīr is mentioned Shaikh Mīrak Mīr. He was the son of one Saiyid Shamsu'd-Dīn Andrābī, whose ancestors had migrated to Kashmīr from Andrāb,⁸ in the reign of Sultān Sikandar.⁹ While Shaikh Mīrak was young, his father died.¹⁰ His relatives,¹¹ who held important posts under the Sultāns advised him

1. Ibid., I, p. 69.

2. *F.Q.*, f. 206a; *T.H.*, III, p. 61; *T.K.*, p. 51.

According to Hasan and Miskīn, he arrived there during the rule of the Chaks (1261-1586); *T.H.*, III, p. 62; *T.K.*, p. 51.

3. Ibid.

4. *F.Q.*, f. 206a; *T.H.*, III, pp. 61-2; *T.K.*, p. 51.

5. *F.Q.*, f. 206a.

6. Ibid., f. 206a; *T.H.*, III, p. 62; *T.K.*, p. 51.

7. Ibid.

8. The city of Andrāb is on the confines of *Khurāsān* towards India.

9. *Khākī*, *Rishī-Nāmā*, f. 42a; *A.Ab.*, f. 192a; *F.Q.*, f. 208b.

10. Ibid., f. 40b; *ibid.*, f. 190a; *ibid.*, f. 207b; *T.K.*, p. 52.

11. His mother came from the powerful Baihaqī family; *Rishī-Nāmā*, f. 42a; *A.Ab.*, f. 192a; *F.Q.*, f. 208a.

to take up government service, but, drawn to a life of piety from childhood as he was, he declined.¹ He spent most of his time in meditation at a *khānqāh* in Srinagar, known as *Khānqāh-i-Andrābī*,² which seems to have been built by one of his ancestors. For forty years, it is said, he did not eat meat and married at a very late age, only after the Prophet appeared to him in a dream and advised him to do so.³

At first he began to practise Sufism independently, claiming to have drawn inspiration direct from the Prophet.⁴ When Saiyid Ni'matu'llāh arrived in Kashmīr, he became his disciple and received initiation in the Qādirī order.⁵ Shaikh Mīrak is reported to have claimed that he had attained a high spiritual stage and that many people had been benefited by him. He died on 5 Ṣafar, 990/1 March 1582, and was buried at Mallā-ratta in Srinagar.⁶

Another Qādirī saint of eminence, who came to Kashmīr in 992/1581 from somewhere in India,⁷ was Saiyid Ismā'il Shāmī.⁸ He too traced his descent from Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qādir Jīlānī.⁹ He had received his early education from his father, Saiyid Sulaimān, and was initiated into the Qādirī order by one Saiyid Muḥammad Qāsim.¹⁰

1. Ibid., ff. 40b-41a; *ibid.*, f. 190a-b; *ibid.*, f. 208a.

2. Ibid.

3. *Rishī-Nāmā*, ff. 41a-b, 42a; *A.Ab.*, f. 191a; *T.Az.*, p. 106; *F.Q.*, f. 208a; *T.H.*, III, pp. 62-3; *T.K.*, p. 53.

4. *Rishī-Nāmā*, ff. 40b, 41b; *A.Ab.*, ff. 190b-191a; *T.Az.*, p. 106; *F.Q.*, ff. 207b-208a; *T.H.*, III, p. 62; *T.K.*, p. 52.

5. Ibid.

6. *A.Ab.*, f. 190a; *F.Q.*, f. 208b; *T.H.*, III, p. 63; *T.K.*, p. 52.

7. *A.Ab.*, f. 189a; *T.Az.*, p. 106; *F.Q.*, f. 205b; *T.H.*, III, p. 54. Miskīn wrongly gives the date of his arrival as 996/1587 (*T.K.*, p. 50), because Bābā Dāwud, who is said to have received Saiyid Ismā'il in Kashmīr, was dead by this time.

8. From his title it seems that his ancestors had migrated from Syria.

9. *A.Ab.*, f. 190a; *F.Q.*, f. 208b; *T.H.*, III, p. 63; *T.K.*, p. 50.

10. *A.Ab.*, f. 190a; *T.Az.*, p. 106; *F.Q.*, f. 205a. Miskīn gives his father's name as Saiyid Muḥammad Qāsim (*T.K.*, p. 50), who according to other sources was his preceptor.

Saiyid Ismā'il was warmly received in Kashmir by some eminent saints of that country including Bābā Dāwud Khākī, with whom he developed a close friendship.¹ Saiyid Ismā'il appears to have been a saint of great repute. His devotional zeal and piety are praised in all the sources.² Bābā Dāwud Khākī, eulogises his laudable character, simplicity and spiritual achievements in a poem which he composed in the Saiyid's honour.³ However, he also did not stay long in Kashmir and returned to India;⁴ but during his brief stay there, he firmly laid the foundation of the Qādirī order, through his disciple Mīr Nāzuk Niyāzi.

Mīr Nāzuk was at first the disciple of Bābā Dāwud Khākī and had received initiation in the Suhrawardī order.⁵ When Saiyid Ismā'il came to Kashmir, Bābā Dāwud introduced the Mīr to him.⁶ Finding Mīr Nāzuk full of promise, Saiyid Ismā'il initiated him into the Qādirī order and gave him the *Khirqā* and *ijāzat-nāmā* to enrol disciples in the order.⁷

Mīr Nāzuk, unlike Saiyid Ni'matu'llāh, did not approve of the practice of *samā'*. It is not known whether Saiyid Ismā'il practised *samā'* at all, but Bābā Dāwud, the Mīr's earlier preceptor, certainly approved of it.⁸ Mīr Nāzuk is said to have even refused to give an interview to a *darwesh* who practised *samā'*.⁹ He breathed his last on 9 Ṣū'l-Hijja, 1022/20 January 1614,¹⁰ and was buried at Qāzīkadal, in Srinagar.¹¹

1. *A.Ab.*, f. 188a; *T.Az.*, p. 106; *F.Q.*, f. 205b; *T.H.*, III, p. 54; *T.K.*, p. 50.

2. Cf. *A.Ab.*, f. 188a; *T.Az.*, p. 106; *F.Q.*, f. 205a-b; *T.H.*, III, p. 54; *T.K.*, p. 50.

3. Cited in *A.Ab.*, ff. 188a-189b; *F.Q.*, f. 205b; *T.K.*, p. 50.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *T.Az.*, pp. 106, 126; *F.Q.*, f. 206b; *T.H.*, III, p. 248; *T.K.*, p. 179.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 126-7; *ibid.*, f. 206b; *ibid.*, p. 248; *ibid.*, p. 179.

7. *Ibid.*

8. See *supra*, Ch. II, p. 32.

9. *T.Az.*, p. 127; *F.Q.*, ff. 203b-207a; *T.H.*, III, p. 248.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 127; *ibid.*, f. 207b; *ibid.*, p. 249; *T.K.*, p. 180.

11. *T.H.*, III, p. 249; *T.K.*, p. 180.

The charge of Mīr Nāzuk's *khānqāh* at *Khānyār*, in *Srīnagar*, was taken up by his eldest son, Mīr Yūsuf.¹ He had received his education and initiation in the Qādirī order from his father.² Mīr Yūsuf died of plague at an early age in 1027/1617.³ It was left to the lot of Mīr Muḥammad 'Alī (d. 17 *Ẓu'l-Hijja*, 1070/24 August 1660), the third son of Mīr Nāzuk, to popularise the Qādirī order in *Kashmīr*.⁴

1. Ibid., p. 275; *ibid.*, p. 181.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Cf. *ibid.*

It is said that Mīr Aḥmad (d. 1041/1631), the second son of Mīr Nāzuk, declined the offer to succeed his brother, as he was pursuing exoteric knowledge and lived a life of ease: cf. *ibid.*

CHAPTER VI

THE RISHĪ ORDER—A

Etymology of the word rishī

The Ṣūfī orders discussed in the preceding chapters entered Kashmīr from Persia, Central Asia, and India. However, in the beginning of the fifteenth century there arose in the Valley an indigenous Ṣūfī order, known as the Rishī¹ order. It developed amidst the traditions of Buddhist renunciation and Hindu asceticism. In fact the very term *rishī* is derived from Sanskrit. Some medieval Muslim scholars of Kashmīr² have, indeed, tried to Islamize it and have preferred to see its derivation in the Persian word *raish* or *rīsh*, which means : “The feathers of a bird, plumage ; a wide garment ; abundance of means of life ; the beard”.³

Thus Bābā Dāwud Mishkāṭī asserts that *rishī* was derived from the Persian word *raish* or *rīsh* meaning the feathers or wings of a bird. A bird, he writes, whose feathers are removed has no control over its own movements and depends entirely on the wind. To whatever direction the wind blows, the bird is carried by it. So it is with a Rishī ; he is alienated from the world and lives alone buffeted by fate.⁴

‘Abdu’l-Wahhāb sees *rishī* as meaning “warmth” (*ḥarārat*), and this, he writes, can be applied to a Ṣūfī, for

1. We adopt this spelling in preference to the Sanskrit form (*rṣi*, *rishi*) since the Persian spellings with final long *ī* occurs thought our sources.
2. *A.Ab.*, f. 54a; *F.K.*, f. 82a.
3. Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary*, pp. 602-3.
4. *A.Ab.*, f. 54a-b. While describing the origin of the moment, Mishkāṭī surprisingly says that the Rishī order was a Hindu ascetic order which existed in Kashmīr, in pre-Islamic times—Ibid.

by the warmth of his heart the Śūfī reaches his goal, attaining from a state of devotion the object of his desire.¹

These and similar explanations seem fanciful and forced. In fact, like many other Sanskrit words, the word *rishī* was assimilated into medieval Kashmirī. In the *Rig-Veda* it is used in the sense of a "singer of sacred hymns". Later it came to mean a legendary sage, "to whom port of the Vedic hymns was revealed." Later still it was applied more loosely to a "saint or sanctified sage."² In general usage among Hindus it signifies an ascetic or anchorite of high reputation for his sanctity. Kashmirī Muslim scholars of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries such as A'zamī³ and Ḥasan⁴, do not endorse the definition given by their predecessors and accept the Sanskrit origin of the word.

The few sources available disclose very little that can be relied upon about the origin of the Rishī movement in Kashmir. Bābā Naṣīb relates a story of the existence of three Rishī brothers, *Khalāsman*, *Plāsman* and *Yāsman*, in pre-Islamic times in Kashmir. But he appears to be telling at face value a Hindu mythological tale. *Khalāsman* for example, is said to have lived sixteen hundred years, *Plāsman* twelve hundred and *Yāsman* eight hundred years.⁵

1. *F.K.*, f. 82b.

2. Monier-Williams *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, pp. 226-27.

3. *T.Az.*, p. 87.

4. *T.H.*, III, p. 101.

5. *Yāsman* is said to have been inferior in piety and devotion to his two elder brothers, and so all his hair was grey. It is also said that once the ruler of the country went to see him, but *Yāsman* paid no attention to him. The ruler, displeased, decided to crush his pride. He sent a courtesan of matchless beauty to seduce him and she succeeded (*R.N.*, f. 136b. See also *A.Ab.*, ff. 53a-54a). Elsewhere (*R.N.*, ff. 157a-b, 158a), the same author attributes more or less the same story to *Shaiḥ Nūru'd-Dīn Rishī*. There lived a brahman, says Bābā Naṣīb, who was pious and chaste. Once the ruler of the time visited him but was shown disregard by the Brahman, and he felt slighted and sent a courtesan to seduce the Brahman. The Brahman fell a prey to her beauty. Later on the Muslims started to taunt the Hindus with their spiritual leader's lapse. The Hindus in retaliation requested same courtesan to

Bābā Dāwud Mishkāṭī states that the Hindu Rishis were in existence in Kashmir before Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn, who is generally acknowledged as the founder of the order, and that Nūru'd-Dīn renewed the ancient traditions of the Rishis, though ignoring their monastic life and Brahmanic beliefs.¹ That is to say he took the Hindu ascetic traditions and Islamized them.

According to 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb, the originator and the founder of the Rishi order was the Prophet himself. He does not give any justification for his claim, except that the Prophet once said that one of the virtues of a faithful Muslim is that he fights his selfish desires.² But this is hardly satisfactory evidence, since it is potentially a general statement.

From the sources now surviving, we can only say that the movement flourished from the first half of the fifteenth century and the Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn, commonly known in Kashmir as Nand Resh, was responsible for its growth and popularity, aided by his four eminent disciples, Bāmn'd-Dīn, Zainu'd-Dīn, Latīfu'd-Dīn and Naṣru'd-Dīn.

The life of Shaikh Nuru'd-Dīn

The life of Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn Rishi, whose original name seems to have been Nand,³ is shrouded in myths and

Continued f.n. 5.

go to Nūru'd-Dīn, the preceptor of the Muslims and repeat her conquest. She went and Nūru'd-Dīn asked her to go back, but she refused. Nūru'd-Dīn was enraged at her presumption and with a glance, he deprived her of her looks and left her with the body of a ninety year old woman.

These legends have no basis and have been attributed by different authors to different saints. Bahā'u'd-Dīn Mattū, for instance, says that Sultān Sikandar sent the courtesan to Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn to test his spiritual power—cf. *R.Nm.*, f. 32a-b.

1. *A.Ab.*, f. 52a-b.
2. *F.K.*, ff. 82b-83a.
3. His elder brothers were given Kashmīrī names—Shesh and Kundar (*R.N.*, f. 129a; *F.K.*, f. 89b; *R.Nm.*, f. 10b). It is unlikely that their younger brother would have been given an Arabic name in the beginning. "Nanda" in Sanskrit is from "nand", which means delight,

legends. There is no general agreement among the sources about the date of his birth. However, many agree that he was born on 10 Zū'l-Hijja,¹ 779/9 April, 1378.²

It is said that the birth-place of Nūru'd-Dīn is Kaimuh,³ where his father Salār Ganā'ī, belonging to the tribe of watchmen,⁴ lived.⁵ It is also said that when the Shaikh was born he would not take milk from his mother's breast. Three days after his birth, Lallā, the celebrated Shavite ascetic of Kashmīr, happened to come by and spoke to the newly born baby : "You were not ashamed of being born ; why are you ashamed to suck ?" Thereupon the baby immediately started taking milk and Lallā thereafter continued to visit the house

Continued f.n. 5.

happiness (cf. Monier Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 526), and in Kashmīrī it means virtuous. The Prophet in a dream is said to have addressed him as Nand, and not Nūru'd-Dīn (the light of the faith)—*R.N.*, f. 131b; *F.K.*, f. 86b; *R.Nm.*, f. 19b; *T.K.*, p. 95.

1. *T.K.*, p. 92.

2. *R.N.*, f. 129a; *F.K.*, f. 86b; *R.Nm.*, f. 12a; *T.K.*, p. 92. Mishkāṭī and Ḥasan give the date of the Shaikh's birth as 757/1356-57 (*A.Ab.*, f. 52b; *T.H.*, III, p. 125). But Mishkāṭī, from whom Ḥasan seems to have copied, gives contradictory statements, which make his date unreliable. He says that the Shaikh died at the age of sixty-three and at the same time he gives the date of the Shaikh's death as 808/1405-1406 (*A.Ab.*, f. 68b). If we accept Mishkāṭī's date and the age he attributes to the Shaikh at his death, then the Shaikh was born in 745/1344-45.

Anand Kaul, who wrote an article on the life of Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn ("A life of Nand Rishī", *Indian Antiquary*, LVIII, 1929, p. 195), accepts the date of the Shaikh's birth as 10 Zū'l-Hijja, 779.

3. Kaimuh, the ancient "Katīmuṣa", is thirty-two miles to the south of Srīnagar.

4. It is said that Salār Ganā'ī was from the *qabīla-i pāsbān*. It seems that watchmen, obviously a functional group, were identified as a tribe in an ethnic sense.

5. *R.N.*, f. 129a; *F.K.*, ff. 84b, 89b. Mattū says that Salār Ganā'ī was a descendant of the rulers of Kishtwār (*R.Nm.*, f. 10b). Ḥasan (*T.H.*, III, p. 117), gives the genealogical line of the Shaikh as follows : Wagrā Sanz, his son Dartpā Sanz, his son Zangā Sanz, his son Hanar Sanz, his son Graza Sanz, his son Salār Sanz, his son Nandā Sanz (Nūru'd-Dīn).

of the parents of Nūru'd-Dīn¹.

After the death of their father, the brothers of Nūru'd-Dīn, Shesh and Kundar, are reported to have turned to a life of theft and robbery. When Nūru'd-Dīn grew older, they pressed him to share in their way of life, and Nūru'd-Dīn reluctantly agreed.² Nūru'd-Dīn is said to have hinted at this in the following verses attributed to him :

"A spring has been lost in the stream,

A saint has been lost among the thieves.

A deeply learned man has been lost in the house of
fools,

A swan has been lost among the crows."³

However, the Shaikh proved an incompetent thief. His brothers, thinking that he might become a source of trouble, approached their mother and told her that he should leave them, as he was an ignorant fool.⁴ Their mother sent for him

1. *R.Nm.*, f. 12b; *T.K.*, p. 92. Hasan suggests the Lallā put her own breasts into the baby's mouth—*T.H.*, III, p. 117.

2. *R.N.*, f. 136a; *A.Ab.*, ff. 55b-56a; *F.K.*, f. 84b; *R.Nm.*, f. 12b; *T.H.*, III, p. 117; *T.K.*, p. 92.

3. *Nūr-Nāmā*, ed. Muḥammad Amin Kāmil, p. 172 (Poem, 249).

4. Many stories are told about the Shaikh's life as a thief. One night, accompanied by his brothers, they reached a village where a big house stood. Thinking that they would get a rick haul, they told the Shaikh to rob it. The inmates happened to be awake, and suspecting it was a thief, they spoke to one another, lamenting that they were poor—so poor indeed as not to possess even a quilt to protect themselves from the cold. Nūru'd-Dīn overheard them and felt pity on their poverty; he flung his own blanket over them and came out empty-handed. His brothers asked him what he had secured and where his blanket was? The Shaikh replied that the inmates of the house got up and tried to catch him, so he threw the blanket in their faces and ran away. (*R.N.*, f. 137a-b; *A.Ab.*, f. 59a-b; *F.K.*, f. 86a; *R.Nm.*, ff. 14b-15a; *T.H.*, III, p. 118; *T.K.*, p. 93.)

On another occasion the three brothers went to steal in a village. His brothers told the Shaikh to break into a house and bring out whatever heavy object he might find. Nūru'd-Dīn found a box full of gold and silver, but he reflected that if he brought it out he would be committing a sin. He brought out a stone pestle instead and gave it to his brothers, telling them he could find nothing heavier in the house.

and said that if he considered stealing unlawful, he should take up some other means of earning his living. The Shaikh agreed and went with her to a weaver to become his apprentice.¹ But the very first day the weaver lost patience with him as he kept on asking questions about religion instead of attending to his work.² The weaver sent for Nūru'd-Dīn's mother. She

Continued f.n. 4.

His brothers were angry at his stupidity, not understanding that by heavy objects they meant precious metals, so they ironically asked him to bring out something light. He re-entered, and brought out a sieve and a winnowing fan, saying that there were no lighter things there. His brothers disappointed at his foolishness, afterwards stole a cow and handed her over to him, as they themselves were going to some other place to steal. Nūru'd-Dīn was driving the cow along when he heard a dog barking "*wow, wow*". In Kashmīrī *wow* means sow. He thought that the dog was reminding him of the fact that what he sowed here, he would reap hereafter and so he let the cow go loose—(R.N., ff. 136a-37a; A.Ab., ff. 58b-59a; F.K., ff. 85b-86a; R.Nm., ff. 13a-14a; T.H., III, pp. 117-118; T.K., pp. 92-93). The story seems to have been based on the following saying of Nūru'd-Dīn :

"The dog is barking in the compound,
O brothers ! give ear and listen (to what he says).
One who sows here (in this world) shall
reap there (in the next world).
The dog is crying (reminding), sow, sow, sow—"

Nūr-Nāmā, p. 95 (Poem, 104).

1. R.N., f. 138a; A.Ab., f. 60a; F.K., f. 86a; R.Nm., f. 15a; T.H., III, p. 118; T.K., p. 94.
2. Nūru'd-Dīn is said to have asked the weaver, why he was always alternately raising and lowering his feet. He replied that he was thus raising the warp in order to put in the woof. But, Nūru'd-Dīn replied that this movement had another meaning : "When you raise your right foot it is a hint that all human beings came from dust and shall return to dust." Nūru'd-Dīn next enquired : "Why have these threads been put together ? What is the piece of wood that is shot to and fro in the loom ? What are the threads attached to it ? And what is the board you are always pulling towards yourself ?" The weaver replied that they were warp shuttle, woof and press board respectively. Nūru'd-Dīn replied : "No, the woof indicates that the world is an inn having two doors; by one we enter and by the other we leave. The shuttle is man, and the thread in its mouth is his daily bread, apportioned to him by fate; so long as it lasts he moves about in this world. The

came and enquired what was wrong with him and why he did not get on with his work. The Shaikh replied : "No work in this world is easy. The tools of the weaver reminded me that we all have to leave this world. So we should not set our hearts on worldly success. Our destiny is determined at our birth, we work in order to keep alive until the moment when that destiny must be fulfilled. If we do not worship, how shall we achieve freedom from the punishments of the grave ?"¹

It seems that the stories were prepared to show Nūru'd-Dīn's piety and innocence. They were intended to serve as a background-setting for some of his verses. It is common to stories of saints all over the world, to present them as moved by impulses of virtue even before the light of conversion draws upon them.² The disciples of Kabīr and Nānak to reconstruct the framework of their biographies on the basis of their verses.

The legendary nature of the incidents of Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn's life, described in the hagiological literature, may also be judged by the fact that the same literature attributes his conversion to different sources. According to Bābā Nasīb once the Prophet appeared to the Shaikh in a dream, addressed him by his Kashmīrī name Nand,³ and bade him to do pious deeds and be worthy of his name. The vision drew the veil from the

Continued f.n. 2.

world. The board, when you pull it towards you to press home the woof, makes a sound like *dag, dag* ('beat, beat'), and it indicates that our desires are killing us." The weaver thought that his apprentice's mind was wandering (*R.N.*, f. 138a-139a; *A.Ab.*, f. 60a-b; *F.K.*, f. 86a-b). According to Mattū (*R.Nm.*, ff. 15b-16b), the weaver on hearing what the Shaikh had said, gave up the world.

We have similar conversations attributed to Gurū Nānak in the *Ṭanām-sākhis* — cf. W.H. Mcleod, *Gurū Nānak and the Sikh Religion*, pp. 36, 52.

1. *R.N.*, f. 139b; *A.Ab.*, f. 60b; *F.K.*, f. 86b.

2. Cf. 'Attār, *Tazkiratu'l-Auliya*', Eng. tr., A.J. Arberry (*Muslim Saints and Mystics*), pp. 53ff.

3. See supra, p. 182, n. 1.

eyes of Nūru'd-Dīn and he was increasingly drawn to the spiritual life.¹

Bābā Dāwud Mishkāṭī² and 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb³ say that while the Shaikh and his brothers were once trying to break into a house, Lallā, who happened to be there, cried to Nūru'd-Dīn: "What will you get from this house? Go to a big house (i.e. God), you will get something there." On hearing this Nūru'd-Dīn, who was thirty years old at that time,⁴ immediately left his brothers and dug out a cave at the village of Kaimuh. Here for many years⁵ he performed his austere penances, withdrawing entirely from the life that surrounded him.⁶

Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn was a great mystic, who had risen high above the courts, and the social and religious institutions

1. *R.N.*, ff. 132b-133a. See also *R.Nm.*, f. 19b; *T.K.*, p. 95.

2. *A.Ab.*, f. 56a.

3. *F.K.*, f. 84b.

4. *A.Ab.*, f. 52b; *F.K.*, f. 82b; *T.Az.*, p. 63. Naṣīb and Mattū say that the Shaikh entered the spiritual path at the age of thirty-two—*R.N.*, f. 132a; *R.Nm.*, f. 20a.

5. It is said that the Shaikh lived for twelve years in that cave (*R.N.*, ff. 132a-133a; *A.Ab.*, f. 62a; *F.K.*, f. 86a; *R.Nm.*, f. 20b; *T.H.*, III, pp. 118-19; *T.K.*, p. 94). But this period should not be taken to mean twelve calendar years. Many Ṣūfī such as Shaikh Muḥammad Ghaus Shattārī (cf. *Muntakhabu'l-Tawārīkh*, III, p. 4), and some of the disciples of Nūru'd-Dīn himself (cf. *infra*, p. 218, 225) are said to have lived in caves for twelve years.

6. It is said that the Shaikh's mother made repeated entreaties to her son to give up his solitary life and take care of his wife and children, but to no avail. One day she came to his cave and upbraided him for his negligence of filial duty, but failed to persuade him to change his ways. She tauntingly reminded him that she had fed him with her blood in the form of her milk, and had reared him up; and now he was proving ungrateful to her. The Shaikh commanded a nearby rock to give back to his mother all the milk he had from her. Soon milk began to flow from the rock. His mother was astonished, but happy as she thought that her son had reached such a high spiritual stage—*R.N.*, ff. 140b-141a; *A.Ab.*, f. 61a-b; *F.K.*, f. 86b; *R.Nm.*, f. 28b-29a; *T.H.*, III, p. 120; *T.K.*, p. 94.

of the time. His sayings, as we shall see in the following pages, reveal that his conversion to the spiritual life was not accidental, but out of conviction. But the question arises, whence did he draw inspiration? Was he really influenced by the Sūfīs, who by his time had migrated to Kashmir in large numbers?

All the earlier sources generally agree that the preceptor of Nūru'd-Dīn is not known, describing him merely as "Uwaisī".¹ However, the later scholars such as A'zamī² and Wahhāb³ assert that Nūru'd-Dīn received guidance from Saiyid Ḥusain⁴, the cousin of Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī. But the discrepancy in their statements makes them unreliable.

A'zamī states that when Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī arrived in Kashmir (783/1381), Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn was still unborn.⁵ Thus by the time Saiyid Ḥusain died (792/1390).⁶ The Shaikh would not be more than nine years old. Again A'zamī says that Nūru'd-Dīn entered the spiritual path at the age of thirty.⁷ This then happened some seventeen years after Saiyid Ḥusain's death, as A'zamī agrees that the Shaikh was born in 779/1378.⁸

According to one statement of Wahhāb, Nūru'd-Dīn would be thirteen years old by the time Saiyid Ḥusain died, as he gives the date of birth of Nūru'd-Dīn as 779/1377-1378.⁹ At another place like A'zamī he states that the Shaikh's conversion took place when he was thirty years old.¹⁰ This suggests that it is unlikely that the Shaikh would have received any guidance

1. *Khāḳī*, *Rishi-Nāmā*, f. 43a; *D.S.*, p. 213; *R.N.*, f. 131b; *A.Ab.*, f. 52a.

2. *T.Az.*, p. 64.

3. *F.K.*, ff. 69b, 82a.

4. See *supra*, p. 114 for his biography.

5. *T.Az.*, p. 64.

6. See *supra*, p. 115.

7. *T.Az.*, p. 63.

8. He does not give the date of birth of Nūru'd-Dīn, but says that the latter died at the age of sixty three, in 842/1438-39 (*T.Az.*, p. 64). This gives the Shaikh's date of birth as 779/1377-78.

9. *F.K.*, f. 86b.

10. *Ibid.*, f. 82b.

from Saiyid Ḥusain. The confusion in Wahhāb's statements may also be judged by the fact that elsewhere,¹ he himself states that Nūru'd-Dīn's conversion took place because of Lallā.²

Again, Wahhāb, who was himself an adherent of the Kubraviya order, seems to be bent on connecting the Rishīs with that order.

According to Wahhāb, when Mīr Muḥammad, the son of Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī, heard about the virtues of Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn, he went to see him. And after being convinced of his spirituality, the Mīr asked the Shaikh to accept him as his disciple. But the Shaikh told Mīr Muḥammad that since he was a descendant of the Prophet, he should rather be his disciple. The Mīr thereupon accepted him.³

Saiyid 'Alī,⁴ Bābā Nasīb⁵ and Mishkāṭī,⁶ the earliest to record the meeting of the Shaikh with the Mīr, say nothing about this. In fact the anecdote about Mīr Muḥammad's meeting with Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn reveals that their attitudes to the problem were in conflict. It is said that Mīr Muḥammad criticised Nūru'd-Dīn for abstaining from meat.⁷ Some of his companions are even reported to have criticised the Shaikh for his lack of knowledge about the *shari'a*.⁸ Thus it seems most unlikely that either Mīr Muḥammad or Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn would have shown any desire to become the disciple of the other.

In fact there seems very little doubt that Nūru'd-Dīn developed his thought in his own atmosphere. By this time a new Bhaktī movement, set in train by Lallā, had started in Kashmīr. In view of the fact that she was a source of inspiration for Nūru'd-Dīn it will be useful to give a brief description of her life.

1. Ibid.

2. See *supra*, p. 187.

3. *F.K.*, f. 90a-b. See also *T.H.*, III, p. 124; *T.K.*, p. 96.

4. *T.Ks.*, f. 33b-34a.

5. *R.N.*, f. 215a-b.

6. *A.Ab.*, f. 236a-b.

7. *R.N.*, f. 246a-b; *A.Ab.*, f. 236b.

8. Cf. *T.Ks.*, f. 34b; *R.N.*, ff. 216b-217a.

Like that of Nūru'd-Dīn, Lallā's life is shrouded in myth and legend. It is said that she came of a fairly well-to-do family of Brahmans of Pompur, and that right from her childhood she was given to an ascetic life. However, she was married to a Brahman boy in the same village. Her mother-in-law was cruel¹ and her husband ignored her. Because of her mystical tendencies, Lallā failed to conform to the established social practices and was turned out of her husband's house. Thereupon she started roaming from place to place in a semi-nude state.² Probably it was disappointment in love and domestic life that turned Lallā into an ascetic. All that can be affirmed of her with certainty is that she flourished between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and that she was a senior contemporary of Nūru'd-Dīn.³

1. It is said that Lallā often had to go without meals. Her mother-in-law used to put a large stone on her plate and cover that with rice to make a small helping look like a big heap. Thus Lallā is believed to have made allusion to this story in one of her sayings: "Whether they (in-laws) kill a big sheep or a small one, it was all the same; Lallā has always *nal-wath* (stone) in her plate"—*F.K.*, f. 91.
2. *R.N.*, ff., 218b-219a; *A.Ab.*, f. 259a; *F.K.*, f. 91a-b. The legend of the wandering of Lallā in the nude is probably based on her following saying :
 "Dance then, Lallā, clothed but by the air :
 Sing then, Lallā, clad but in the sky.
 Air and sky : what garment is more fair ?
 'Cloth', saith Custom—doth that sanctify ?—

Temple, *The word of Lallā*, p. 173 (poem 94).

3. Jonarāja says : "Once upon a time the prince [Shihābu'd Dīn, 1354-73] was wandering for amusement in the forest of Vākpuṣṭa, when he saw a circle of Yoginīs in the cavern of a mountain. His friends Udayashrī and Chandraḍāmara also saw them;...the leader of the yoginīs recognized the prince...and sent him a cup of liquor with incantation and blessing." (*R.Tj.*, pp. 35-36) Mishkāṭī (*A.Ab.*, f. 258b) and Wahhāb (*F.K.*, f. 91b) also agree with Jonarāja and say that the Yoginīs was Lallā. The story of true shows that Lallā was of matured age by the middle of the fifteenth century. However, Anand Kaul, who wrote an article on Lallā's life, "Life sketch of Laleshwari", (*Indian Antiquary*, V. 50, 1921, pp. 302ff) says that Lallā was born in the reign of Sultān 'Alā'u'd-Dīn (1343-1354). Ṣūfī (*Kashīr*, II, p. 383) gives the date of the birth of Lallā as 1335.

The "Lal Wākhi" or 'Sayings of Lallā', are the "current coin of quotation" in Kashmir. They were first edited and rendered into English by Sir George Grierson in 1920. Later Sir Richard Carnac Temple, in 1924, published a translation in English verse of Lallā's sayings with a detailed analysis of her teachings.

Self-denial, purity of life are the key-note of her sayings. She rejected the established religious dogmas and rituals.¹ Was she influenced by Muslim saints such as Saiyid 'Alī Hamadāni? Some modern scholars, including Temple² and Muḥibbu'l-Ḥasan,³ think so. But at the same time Temple, whom Muḥibbu'l-Ḥasan follows, acknowledges that Lallā's association with Saiyid 'Alī is based on legend.⁴ It is most likely that the legend was concocted either to glorify the influence of Saiyid 'Alī or to counteract the popular belief that Lallā influenced Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn. There is in fact no trace of Islamic influence in Lallā's teachings, although some modern scholars such as Grierson⁵ and Temple⁶ have in vain tried to find some.⁷ Indeed it was not the Muslim saints who influenced Lallā, but she who influenced a section of the Kashmiri Muslim saints, the Rishis, through Nūru'd-Dīn.⁸ Nūru'd-Dīn was a junior contemporary of Lallā⁹ and though the tales of Nūru'd-Dīn's encounters with Lallā may be taken as hagiological

1. Cf. Temple, *The word of Lallā*, pp. 190, 199 (Poems, 42 and 52). See also 'Abdu'l-Aḥad Āzād, *Kashmiri Zabān aur Shā'iri*, pp. 154, 212.

2. *The word of Lallā*, pp. 2-3, 80.

3. *Sultāns*, p. 239.

4. *The word of Lallā*, p. 8. See Appendix (C) where the story has been given.

5. *Lallā-Vākyaṇi*, p. 30.

6. *The word of Lallā*, p. 170.

7. See Appendix C for a detailed consideration of this question.

8. Cf. 'Abdu'l-Aḥad Āzād, *Kashmiri Zabān aur Shā'iri*, pp. 36, 154.

9. The story about Lallā's meeting with Sultān Shihābu'd-Dīn (1354-73) in a forest, if true, happened many years before Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn was born (779/1378). The tale of Lallā inducing the Shaikh to take milk when he was born, and Lallā's encounter with the Shaikh, near a house which he was thinking of robbing (see *supra*, p. 183, 187), shows not only that Nūru'd-Dīn was junior to Lallā but also that she was already a recognized 'saint'.

fabrications, at least they reveal that Nūru'd-Dīn was popularly considered to have had some association with Lallā. The similarity of their sayings and teachings would suggest this was more than mere association, and that Lallā was, in fact, an initial and important source of inspiration for Nūru'd-Dīn.

Lallā, while pleading for spiritual as against formal worship, says :

"Who are they that wreathes of flowers bring ?
What are the flowers that at the Feet they lay ?
Water that they on the Image fling ?
What the spell that Shankar's Self shall sway."¹

Nūru'd-Dīn likewise points out:

"By bowing down, thou shalt not become a Rishī,
The pounder in the rice-mill did never raise up its head.
By bathing, the mind will not be cleaned,
The fish and otter never ascend the bank."²

Lallā relates her spiritual experience in the following verses :

"Passionate, with longing in mine eyes,
Searching wide, and seeking nights and days,
Lo ! I beheld the Truthful One, the wise,
Here in mine own House to fill my gaze."³

And Nūru'd-Dīn says :

"Searching far and wide in vain,
Lo ! I found Him in my own country."⁴

On the signs of immoral society Lallā observes :

"In these evil times doth Nature bow
Unto them that walk in wrongful ways.
Autumn pears and apples ripen now
With the apricots of summer days.
In the coming days of shame and wrath
Mother and her daughter, hand^h in hand,

1. Temple, *The Word of Lallā*, p. 188 (Poem, 39).

2. Cited by Anand Kaul, "A Life of Nand Rishī", *Indian Antiquary*, V. 59, 1930, p. 29.

3. Temple, op. cit., p. 167 (Poem, 3).

4. *Nūr-Nāmā*, p. 155 (Poem, 215).

Strangers to accost shall wander forth;
Men and women in an evil band.”¹

Nūru’d-Dīn makes the same point, employing almost the same language:

“The times will become more and more evil
Human nature itself will change for the worse,
Pears and apples whose ripening time is late autumn
will change and ripen with apricots in the height
of the rainy season ;
Mother and daughter hand in hand, will
enjoy their days with strangers.”²

That Nūru’d-Dīn was influenced by Lallā’s personality is quite clear from one of his sayings, in which he declares Lallā a great soul, He eulogizes her spiritual attainments and, despairing of surpassing them himself, strives only to equal them.

“That Lallā of Padmānpur³
Who had drunk nectar⁴
She is the *Avatār* and Yogini
O God, bestow the same (spiritual power) on me.”⁵

The personalities of Lallā and Nūru’d-Dīn are so mixed up that it is impossible to separate them. But there seems little doubt that Nūru’d-Dīn drew inspiration from Lallā, even if he did not actually become her disciple.

Shaikh Nūru’d-Dīn distinguished himself among all the Muslim saints of Kashmīr, Jonarāja,⁶ the contemporary of the Shaikh, who rarely acknowledges the sanctity of any Muslim, describes him the greatest sage of the time. The Shaikh did not concern himself with propagating the faith of Islam. He gave himself up to austere penances. For some time he subsisted

1. Temple, op. cit., p. 219 (Poem, 92).

2. *Nūr-Nāmā*, p. 169 (Poem, 242).

3. Padmānpur, the modern Pompur, is the place where Lallā is believed to have been born—see supra, p. 191.

4. The verse can also be rendered as “who is alive for ever (*amr*, immortal)”.

5. *Nūr-Nāmā*, p. 53 (Poem, 33).

6. cf. *Rājatarāṅgīnī*, ed. Kaul, p. 126 (stanza 673),

upon wild vegetables,¹ later on he gave them up and sustained life on one cup of milk daily.² Finally, in his last years he is said to have reduced his diet to water alone.³

Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn died on 26 Ramazān,⁴ 842/12 march, 1439, at the age of sixty three.⁵ He was buried with almost royal pomp at the village of Chrār⁶; among the thousands of mourners was Sultān Zainu'l-'Ābidīn⁷. The simplicity and the purity of Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn's life has greatly impressed the people of Kashmir, who entertain the highest veneration for the saint to this day.⁸ It was, perhaps, to give the expression to popular sentiment that the Afghān governor, 'Aṭa' Muḥammad Khān (early nineteenth century), struck coins in the name of Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn.⁹

Teachings.

Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn received no formal education and left nothing in writing to posterity. However, his sayings, which he, like Lallā, expressed in the contemporary Kashmirī dialect, embody his teachings. They were handed down to posterity by word of mouth, and were written down two hundred years after his death¹⁰. They long remained scattered in various works¹¹

1. *R.N.*, f. 150b; *A.Ab.*, f. 63b; *T.Az.*, p. 63; *F.K.*, f. 87a; *R.Nm.*, f. 61a; *T.H.*, III, p. 121.
2. *Ibid.*, f. 150b-151a; *Ibid.*, f. 63b; *Ibid.*, p. 63; *Ibid.*, f. 87a-b; *Ibid.*, f. 61a-b; *Ibid.*, p. 121.
3. *R.N.*, ff. 152b-153a; *A.Ab.*, f. 64a-b; *R.Nm.*, f. 62a-b; *T.H.*, III, p. 122.
4. *R.Nm.*, f. 71a; *T.K.*, p. 99.
5. *R.N.*, f. 155b; *T.Az.*, p. 64; *T.K.*, p. 99. Saiyid 'Alī says he died in the reign of Sultān Zainu'l-'Ābidīn—*T.Ks.*, f. 17b. According to Mish-kāṭī the Shaikh died at the age of 63, in 808/1405-1406 (*A.Ab.*, f. 68b). Elsewhere (*A.Ab.*, f. 52b), Mishkātī says that the Shaikh was born in 757/1356-57, this would mean that either the Shaikh died at the age of fifty one or he died in 820/1417-18 (1757+63).
6. The village of Chrār is twenty miles to the south-west of Srinagar.
7. *R.Nm.*, f. 71a; *T.K.*, p. 99.
8. Cf. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 288.
9. Vide, Sūfi, *Kashmīr*, I, p. 101.
10. Bābā Naṣīb. the author of *R.N.*, which was completed in 1631-32, was the first to record some of the sayings of Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn.
11. The sayings of the Shaikh are found in works such as *R.N.*, *A.Ab.*, *T.Az.*, *F.K.*, *R.Nm.*; *T.H.* III and *T.K.*

and have recently been collected and edited in Persian script by Muḥammad Amīn Kāmil, under the title of *Nūr-Nāmā*.¹

Since they were passed from generation to generation by word of mouth, there is every possibility of interpolation. A comparison of the sayings attributed to Lallā, which were first collected in the eighteenth century,² with the text of Nūru'd-Dīn, as established in the *Nūr-Nāmā*, suggests that it may be impossible finally to decide the authorship of many of the sayings. The *Nūr-Nāmā* ascribes to Nūru'd-Dīn some of the sayings which Sir George Grierson attributes to Lallā.

Grierson, whom Temple follows,³ either did not bother to consult or had no access to Persian sources and accepted as authentic Lallā's sayings, which were narrated to him by a Brahman named Dharma Dasa.⁴ But the following comparison of some of the sayings of Lallā with those of Nūru'd-Dīn invites considerable doubt.

Lallā: "Kyāh Kara pōntsan dahan ta kāhan

wokh—shun yith ligī karith yim gaiy

soriy samahon yath razi lamahan

ada Kyāzi rāviḥe kāhan gāv."⁵

"What shall I do to the five, to the ten, to the eleven,"⁶

1. 'Abdu'l-Aḥad Āzād (*Kashmīrī Zabān aur Shā'iri*) has also quoted some of the sayings of the Shaikh, but he does not cite any source.
2. Cf. Anand Kaul, "Life Sketch of Laleshwari", *Indian Antiquary*, L., November, 1921, p. 303.
3. Cf. *The Word of Lallā*, pp. 9-10.
4. In the introduction Grierson says that his former assistant pandit Mukand Ram Shastri introduced him to Dharma Dasa of the village of Gush (in the modern district of Bārāmūla), who had made it his profession to recite Lallā's sayings which had been handed down by word of mouth in his family—*Lallā-Vākyāni*, p. 5.
5. Grierson, *Lallā-Vākyāni*, p. 107 (Poem, 95). The English translation of Lallā's verses is also taken from Grierson's edition.
6. According to Grierson the "five" stand for the five principles of experience of the material world. The "ten" are the ten principles and secondary vital airs. The "eleven" includes five organs of sense, five organs of action and the eleventh the thinking faculty. Thus one who can control and unite them all in one endeavour, has a chance of success in achieving his spiritual goal—op. cit., p. 108.

who scraped out this pot and departed ?
 Had they all united and pulled upon this rope,
 Then how should the cow of the eleven owners have
 been lost ?”

Nūru'd-Dīn :

“Kyāh kara pōntsan dahan ta kāhan
 su paneth kāhan ditheī drāv.

Yudwai sōriy akī watī Pakhan,
 Ada Katī rāvihe kāhan gav.”¹

“What shall I do to the five, to the ten, to the eleven.

“He (who) disunited the eleven departed.

Had they all united and taken the same path,

Then how shall the cow of the eleven owners have been
 lost ?”

Lallā:

“dāmiy dīthūm nad wahawūnūy
 dāmiy dīyūthum sum na ta tār
 dāmiy dīthūm thūrū pholawūnūy
 dāmiy dīyūthum gul na ta khār,”²

Nūru'd-Dīn :

“Damiy dīthūm nads ulwūnny
 Damiy dīyūthūm sum na ta tār.
 Damiy dīthūm thūrū pholawūnūy
 Damiy dīyūthum gul na ta khār”³

The verses attributed to Nūru'd-Dīn are identical with that of Lallā, except in the first line, where Nūru'd-Dīn uses “*sulwūnny*” instead of “*wahawūnūy*”, but the meaning of the terms is the same “flowing”.

“For a moment saw I a river flowing
 For a moment saw I no bridge nor means of crossing
 For a moment saw I a bush all flowers
 Far a moment saw I neither rose nor thorn.”

1. *Nūr-Nāmā*, p. 156 (Poem, 217).

2. Grierson, op. cit., p. 108 (Poem, 96). The transliteration is that of Grierson. We follow Grierson's system of transliteration in order to avoid confusion.

3. *Nūr-Nāmā*, p. 160 (Poem, 224).

Lallā:

“Damīy dīthūm guja dazwūnny
 Damīy dīthūm dah nata nār
 Damīy dīthūm pandawun hunza moji
 Damīy dīthūm kraji mās.”¹

Nūru’d-Dīn:

“Damīy dīthūm dazwūnny guji²
 Damīy dīthūm dah nata sās
 Damīy dīthūm Pandav moji³
 Damīy dīthūm kraji mās.”⁴

“For a moment saw I a cooking-hearth ablaze,
 For a moment saw I neither fire nor smoke.
 For a moment saw I the mother of the Pandavas,
 For a moment saw I an aunt of a Potter’s wife.”

The second line in Nūru’d-Dīn’s verse reads: “For a moment I saw neither smoke nor ash.”

The comparison of the above sayings leads us to two possible conclusions: either the followers of Nūru’d-Dīn wrongly attributed to him some of Lallā’s sayings in order to prove him superior: or Pandit Dharun Dasa recited to Grierson some of Nūru’d-Dīn’s sayings believing or pretending that they were Lallā’s.

Nevertheless we cannot but believe that there are some authentic personal compositions in the works attributed to these two teachers. Many verses occur in one collection but not in the other, and however much one may doubt the details of some of the traditions about them, these traditions are so numerous and widespread that they must refer to real persons whose thought and spiritual experience are reflected in the poems attributed to them.

1. Grierson, op. cit., p. 109 (Poem, 97).

2. In Lallā’s saying it is *guja dazwūnny* (cooking-hearth a blaze), whereas in Nūru’d-Dīn it is reverse *dazwūnny guji* (a blaze cooking-hearth).

3. In Nūru’d-Dīn’s verse *huna* (of) is missing.

4. *Nūr-Nāmā*, p. 161 (Poem, 225).

While Nūru'd-Dīn was influenced by Lallā, her influence did not make him a Hindu saint in the guise of a Muslim Rishi. His sayings show that he believed in the fundamental principles of Islam—the unity of God, the day of Judgement, and reward and punishment. He differed from other Kashmiri Śūfis in ignoring orthodoxy, while still emphasizing the traditional Śūfī path of devotion. To him not mere ritual observances but love, sincerity, a humane outlook, and above all personal piety were the basis of religion.

Nūru'd-Dīn's sayings show that he believed that God is both immanent and transcendent. He is everywhere, not confined to one place or another. According to him, all the branches of knowledge are nothing but the commentary upon the proclamation of faith, "There is no God but Allāh". If one truly seeks for God, he says, everything but Allāh becomes worthless. One who recognises himself, recognises God: "When I was able to recognise my own self, I was able to recognise God; both loss and gain became identical to me and the distinction between life and death disappeared."¹

He once told his mother: "God was and is and shall be for ever; He is independent of all other creatures; He lacks nothing."² Further he says :

"There is one God,
But with a hundred names.
There is not a single blade of grass,
Which does not worship Him."³

"First I became certain that there is no god but Allāh,
Then I made myself (acquainted) Divine revelations.
First I forgot myself and yearned after God,
Then I reached *lā-makān*."⁴

Nūru'd-Dīn strongly emphasizes the absolute dependence of mankind on God. One must trust in God, and recognise

1. *A.Ab.*, ff. 67b-68a.

2. *R.N.*, f. 140a.

3. *Nūr-Nāmā*, p. 39 (Poem, 6).

4. *Ibid.*, p. 154 (Poem, 123).

that no human endeavour can succeed without His help. The Shaikh is said to have told his mother, when She asked how he proposed to support his family, "Bread is provided by God, and trades and professions are only one of the means getting it. A slave of God should think only of worshipping Him, caring nothing for food and drink."¹ Again he says:

"No one can take anything from him to whom God has given,

Time and chance are only a means to an end.

For one, whom God will abandon, no one can provide,
Neither intelligence nor high caste Shall help him."²

"He was, He is and He shall be,

So remember Him constantly here;

He will remove all (your) anxieties,

So come to your senses at once."³

Love and intense devotion to God form the basis of Nūru'd-Dīn's utterances. His devotion is complete and exclusive absorption in God and indifference to all except Him. He advocates the suppression of all other preoccupations and the abandonment of worldly cares. The lover, according to Nūru'd-Dīn, is one who cares neither for spiritual nor fleshly pleasures, but only for the contemplation of the beloved (God)⁴ He says:

"Love is the death of a mother's only son,

Love is the venomous sting of a swarm of wasps,

Can the lover have any rest ?

Love is a rope dripping with blood .

Can the wearer (lover) even utter a sigh ?"⁵

"The lover is he who burns with love,

Whose self shines like gold.

When man's heart lights up with the flame of love ,

Then Shall he reach *lā-makān*."⁶

1 R.N., ff. 139 b-140a.

2. *Nūr-Nāmā*, p. 38 (Poem, 4).

3. *Ibid.*, p. 93 (Poem, 100).

4. *A.Ab.*, f. 68b.

5. *Nūr-Nāmā*, p. 128 (Poem, 164).

6. *Ibid.*, p. 127 (Poem, 163).

A true saint is one who avoids publicity as poison.¹ To ask for blessing from God while worshipping, is a sign of greed.² According to him "An 'ālim is one who distinguishes between the spirit and the flesh; and an 'arīf is one who is able to discriminate between the desires of the spirit and the desires of the flesh."³

Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn believes that although God has bestowed everything upon mankind, we are ungrateful and indifferent to His worship. "He remembers us, He provides our livelihood, He preserves our health, but we are lukewarm in His worship."⁴ To worship is a duty imposed on all creatures. Once, when the shaikh was in his cave at the village of Kaimuh, his mother came and asked solicitously how he was putting up with the insects and rats in the cave. The Shaikh replied: "They too are worshipping." He added: "whatever creature has been given life by the grace of God, exists only for the purpose of worshipping Him. Whatever has the power to speak has a duty to worship him."⁵

In strong terms he warns men to worship God from the moment they attain the age of reason. He used to ask if one does not turn towards God in the vigour of youth, how can one do so in old age?⁶

"Understand that sunt (lit. spring, i. e. youth) is the best time (to worship),

It is better to be ready right from the beginning.

Do not lag behind, youth is an allusion,

what shall a man do if he misses his chance early."⁷

Nūru'd-Dīn regarded a man's base nature (*nafs*) as his great enemy. The first duty of worship is to control one's desires. "The belly is the stronghold of the *nafs* and to fight

1. *A.Ab.*, f. 68a.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*, f. 68b.

4. *R.N.*, f. 140a.

5. *Ibid.*, f. 146a.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Nūr-Nāmā*, p. 137 (Poem, 181).

the *nafs*”, he says, “is a most meritorious holy war (*jihād*).”¹ Again he says: “If one subdues his *nafs*, one is a great soul, and his efforts are pure worship.”²

The Shaikh strongly believed that man’s *nafs* is the greatest obstacle in one’s way to God. Repeatedly and with great vigour the Shaikh lays stress on the duty of crushing and overpowering it at all costs. It is said that once he was at the village of Pattan, where he saw some people cooking fish. His mouth began to water at the smell. He went near the stove but instead of taking a piece of fish, he put a burning piece of wood in his mouth and remarked: “O my *nafs* the fish for you is this.”³ This tale shows the high value the Shaikh placed upon the subjugation of the baser instincts. He himself gave up first bread, then vegetables and then milk. Later on, he tried to keep alive on water.⁴ His whole thought, and that of his followers, is based on the control of the *nafs*. He says:

“The *nafs* has disturbed me greatly,

The *nafs* has ruined me entirely.

It is the *nafs* which makes us destroy others.

The *nafs* is the slave of the devil.”⁵

“To serve the *nafs* is to thrust ashes
into one’s own eyes.

How then can one expect to see ?”⁶

“The *nafs* is just like a rebellious calf,
which should be tied up.

It should be threatened with the stick
of fasting.”⁷

“Desire is like the knotted wood of the forest,
It cannot be made into planks, beams or cradles.

1. *A.Ab.*, f. 68a-b.

2. *Ibid.*, f. 68b.

3. *R.N.*, f. 151a.

4. See *supra*, p. 197.

5. *Nūr-Nāmā*, p. 112 (Poem, 136).

6. ‘Abdu’l-Aḥad Āzād, *Kashmīrī-Zabān aur Shā‘irī*, p. 216,

7. *Ibid.*, p. 138 (Poem, 183).

He who cut and filed it
will burn it into ashes."¹

The Shaikh condemned anger pride and greed, the source of which was selfish desires: "The proud should be sent to hell where they will become soft; like iron in the fire"² Again he is said to have remarked: "One cannot attain the Truth, if one does not give up anger, pride and greed."³

"Those who kill *tamogunas*⁴

They will bear (everything) with resignation,

Those who seek after ease, ease (God),

They consider everything (in this world) as ashes
(worthless).⁵

He is very critical of the *Mullās* who make it their profession to recite the Qur'ān and get money in return. He considers them veritable patterns of hypocrisy. They pursue knowledge for purely selfish reasons: "They wear big turbans and long garments; they carry sticks in their hands; they go from place to place and sell their prayers and fasts in return for food."⁶ The sayings of Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn provide much information about the social life and religious attitudes of the *mullās* of his time:

"A spiritual guide⁷ seems like a pot full of nectar,
Which may be trickling down in drops.

Having a heap of books beside him,

He may have become confused by reading them.

1. Cited by Anand Kaul, op. cit., 1929, p. 198.

2. *A.Ab.*, f. 67b.

3. *Ibid.*, f. 68b.

4. "The cause of heaviness, ignorance, illusion, lust, anger, pride, sorrow dullness and stolidity", Monier Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 438. The Shaikh's use of this Hindu philosophical term is worthy of note.

5. Cited by Anand Kaul, op. cit., 1929, p. 196.

6. *R.N.*, f. 173a-b.

7. The word in the verse is *gor*, which in Kashmīrī is usually applied to a Brahman, but which also means a spiritual guide. It is derived from the well-known Sanskrit word *guru*.

On examining him we found him empty in mind,
 He may be preaching to others but forgetting himself."¹
 "The people of the *kali-yuga*² in every house
 will pretend to be saints,
 As a prostitute does when dancing.³
 They will pretend to be innocent and extremely gentle,
 They will not sow beans, cotton seeds or grain.⁴
 They will excel thieves in living by unlawful means,
 To hide themselves they will repair to a forest."⁵
 "O *mullā* your rosary is like a snake,
 You begin to count the beads when
 your disciples come near.
 You eat six meals one after the other,
 If you are a *mullā* then who are the thieves?"⁶

Nūru'd-Dīn yearned for a society, based on moral values. He is conscious of the defects of the society in which he lived.⁷ There are many anecdotes associated with the life and doings of Nūru'd-Dīn, which not only reveal his disapproval of the established social customs, but also provide an ample evidence about the medieval society of Kashmir.

To expose hollowness of the cherished values of the society, the Shaikh is said to have had recourse to a device attributed to many saints. He went to attend a feast, to which he had been invited, in rags. Because of his wretched appearance he could not get admittance into the assembly of the guests. He returned to his place and came back richly dressed. When the feast was served, he put his sleeves and the corners of his costly garment into the dishes. The guests were astonished at his strange behaviour and asked

1. *Nūr-Nāmā*, p. 116 (Poem, 143).
2. "The last and worst of the four yugas or ages,...the age of vice"—Monier Williams, op. cit., p. 261. Another example of the Shaikh's free use of Hindu terminology.
3. While dancing the prostitute sings the songs of morality.
4. The verse can be translated also as "They will not earn their bread by honest labour."
5. *Nūr-Nāmā*, p. 123 (Poem, 156).
6. Ibid., p. 124 (Poem, 158).
7. See supra, p. 196.

him the reason. He replied with a smile: "The feast was not really for Nūru'd-Dīn but for the long sleeves."¹

Nuru'd-Dīn believed in complete harmony among different religions and preached peace and understanding in them. He must have been conscious of the hatred and tension which were created during the reign of Sultān Sikandar, and was keen to restore harmony between Muslims and non-Muslims. According to Jonarāja, Suha Bhatta,² who after his conversion to Islam became the champion of that religion and persecuted the non-Muslims, put restrictions on Nuru'd-Dīn.³ It is most likely that Nuru'd-Dīn disapproved of the actions of Suha Bhatta, and raised his voice against it. His own sayings, in which he calls on people to follow the path of peace and harmony, show his strong desire for understanding, love and affection among all sections of the Kashmiris.

"We belong to the same parents.

Then why this difference ?

Let Hindus and Muslims (together)
worship God alone."⁴

"We came to this world like partners.

We should have shared our joys
and sorrows together."⁵

Nuru'd-Dīn's message was not confined to one race or one class, but addressed to mankind as a whole. He belonged to the universe. He expressed his thought in the simple language of his people, clothing his ideas with similes and examples familiar from their experience. His verses therefore had an immediate appeal to the unlettered masses. Allusions to his sayings and verses both by the Muslims and non-Muslims of Kashmir are quite common even today and have become almost proverbial. Above all the sayings of Nuru'd-Dīn are the expression of the ideas of many thinkers of his time. In this way he and his sayings have the great importance.

1. Cf. *Ṣūfī, Kashmir*, I, p. 101.

2. See *supra*, p. 131; *infra*, p. 280.

3. *Rājataranginī*, ed. by Kaul, p. (stanza 673).

4. *Nūr-Nāmā*, p. 42 (Poem, 12).

5. *Ibid.*, p. 91 (Poem, 96). See also *ibid.*, p. 156 (Poem, 217).

CHAPTER VII

THE RISHĪ ORDER—B

Disciples of Nūru'd-Dīn

Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn attracted a large number of people to his fold.¹ Among his prominent disciples were Bāmu'd-Dīn, Zainu'd-Dīn, Latīfu'd-Dīn Naṣru'd-and Qiyamu'd-Dīn. There is no evidence that Nūru'd-Dīn gave a *Khilāfat-nāmā* to any of his disciples or that he nominated any of them as his successor. But Saiyid 'Alī, the author of *Tārikh-i-Kashmīr*², calls the first four above mentioned disciples his *Khalīfas*, and the later writers³ have followed the Saiyid.

Of these four *Khalīfas*, the first three are alleged to have been born as Hindus, and to have been converted to Islam by Nūru'd-Dīn. The sources, however, are not unanimous about the circumstances of their conversion; the details they relate are drawn from the stock of standard Ṣūfī stories, and there is no external evidence to support their statements. Therefore, one must view them with considerable caution.

It is said that Bāmu'd-Dīn was a famous Brahman, respected by many Kashmīrī Hindus, residing at Bamuzu,⁴ where he used to worship numerous idols. He is credited with having possessed remarkable miraculous powers, even as a Hindu. For example, he is reported to have bathed daily at dawn, simultaneously at five different places in Kashmīr:⁵ Chandanyār

1. *F.K.*, f. 92a.

2. *F.* 32b.

3. *F.K.*, f. 92a-b; *T.H.*, III, pp. 123ff.; *T.K.*, ff. 100ff.

4. Ten miles to the south-east of the modern district of Anantnāg.

5. *T.Ks.*, ff. 32a-b, 37a-b; *R.N.*, f. 254b; *A.Ab.*, f. 70a; *F.K.*, f. 92b; *T.H.*, III, p. 126; *T.K.*, p. 100.

(in the town of Vijabrōr), Shoryār and *Khujiyār*¹ (in Srinagar); Vular (40 miles north-west of Srinagar) and *Khādanyār* (in the town of Bārāmula).²

It is said that when Nūru'd-Dīn heard about his reputation, he decided to visit him and convert him to Islam. When Nūru'd-Dīn went to see Bhuma Sidh (the Hindu name of Bāmu'd-Dīn), he put the bloody skin of a newly slaughtered cow on his shoulders. Bhuma Sidh saw the Shaikh,³ and was naturally annoyed. He asked the Shaikh to go away, and not to pollute the idols. Nūru'd-Dīn stayed; the Brahman asked him what he wanted. Nūru'd-Dīn replied: "I want you to become a Muslim," and added that it was folly to worship idols carved out of stone by a mere man. To worship what one has created himself is a sign of ignorance. After a long discussion, the Brahman asked the Shaikh to prove the truth of Islam. The Shaikh addressed the idols, which at once gave tongue and Bhuma Sidh accepted Islam,⁴ and was later named Bāmu'd-Dīn, by the Shaikh.⁵

Saiyid 'Alī and A'zamī, however, give another version of Bāmu'd-Dīn's conversion. According to them Bhuma Sidh showed Nūru'd-Dīn his spiritual powers by flying up towards the sky. Nūru'd-Dīn sent his shoes after him, Bhuma Sidh on seeing this was highly impressed by the Shaikh and accepted Islam.⁶

1. Ḥasan and Miskīn say "Chāṭaryār" (*T.H.*, III, p. 126; *T.K.*, p. 100). But near *Khujiyār* is the famous ancient Hindu temple of *Hār-i-Parbat*.
2. *R.N.*, f. 254b; *A.Ab.*, f. 70a; *F.K.*, f. 92b; *T.H.*, III, p. 126; *T.K.*, p. 100.
3. According to Naṣīb, Bhūma Sidh had come to know supernaturally about the Shaikh's arrival and was telling his servants not to allow him to enter when the Shaikh came in. *R.N.*, f. 254b.
4. *R.N.*, ff. 254b-255a; *A.Ab.*, f. 70a-b; *F.K.*, ff. 92b-93a; *T.H.*, III, p. 127; *T.K.*, p. 101. According to Naṣīb, Bhūma Sidh before accepting Islam, asked the Shaikh whether, if he changed his religion, his past sins would be forgiven. The Shaikh told him that he himself was the surety for him in heaven. *R.N.*, f. 262a.
5. *Ibid.*, *T.H.*, III, p. 127; *T.K.*, p. 101.
6. *T.Ks.*, f. 32a-b; *T.Az.*, pp. 64-5.

It is said that Zainu'd-Dīn¹ hailed from Kishtwār, and that his father, who was a descendent of the rulers of that country,² was killed by his enemies. Zainu'd-Dīn was quite young.³ According to Saiyid 'Alī,⁴ Naṣīb,⁵ Mishkāṭi,⁶ Wāhhāb⁷, Mattū,⁸ Ḥasan⁹ and Miskīn,¹⁰ when quite young Zainu'd-Dīn once fell seriously ill and no medicine could cure him. His mother became anxious; meanwhile Nūru'd-Dīn appeared and told her that he would pray for the recovery of her son if she promised that they both would later come to Kashmīr and accept Islam.

A'zamī, however, asserts that Zainu'd-Dīn came to Kashmīr because of a Divine command and accepted Islam there at the hands of Nūru'd-Dīn.¹¹

La'ifu'd-Dīn¹² is said to have been chief¹³ of Maru-

1. According to some sources his original Hindu name was Ziyā Singh (probably Jayā Singh); *A.Ab.*, f. 73b; *T.Az.*, p. 64; *F.K.*, f. 94b; *T.K.*, p. 102.
- Mattū and Ḥasan, however, give his name as Zaina Singh; *R.Nm.* f. 49b; *T.H.*, III, p. 128.
2. *A.Ab.*, f. 73b; *R.Nm.*, f. 49.
3. *T.Ks.*, f. 34b; *R.N.*, f. 283b; *A.Ab.*, f. 73b; *F.K.*, f. 94b; *R.Nm.*, 49b; *T.H.*, III, p. 128; *T.K.*, p. 102.
4. *T.Ks.*, ff. 34b-35a.
5. *R.N.*, f. 284a.
6. *A.Ab.*, f. 73b.
7. *F.K.*, ff. 94b-95a.
8. *R.Nm.*, f. 49b.
9. *T.H.*, III, pp. 128-9.
10. *T.H.*, p. 102.
11. *T.Az.*, p. 64.
12. The sources are not unanimous about his original Hindu name. According to Saiyid 'Alī and A'zamī, his Hindu name was "Ladī-Raina" (*T.Ks.*, f. 39a; *T.Az.*, p. 65). Mishkāṭi and Wāhhāb say "Idi-Raina" (*A.Ab.*, f. 78a; *F.K.*, f. 98b), and Ḥasan and Miskīn "Āwat-Raina" (*T.H.*, III, p. 132; *T.K.*, p. 104).
13. *T.Ks.* f. 39a; *R.N.*, f. 294a; *A.Ab.*, f. 78a; *K.S.*, f. 83b; *F.K.*, f. 98b; *T.H.*, III p. 132; *T.K.*, p. 104. According to A'zamī, he was the son of the chief of Maru-Adavin; *T.Az.*, p. 65.

Adavin¹ and to have called one day on Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn, who asked the purpose of the visit; he replied that he wanted his friendship. Nūru'd-Dīn answered that there could be no friendship between them unless he accepted Islam. Latīfud-Dīn yielded and at the same time gave up his post and became the disciple of the Shaikh.²

The story of Nūru'd-Dīn approaching Bhūma Sidh (Bāmu'd-Dīn) dressed in a bloody cow-skin is quite incompatible with the character of the Shaikh. The tale related by Saiyid 'Alī and A'zamī of the two men competing in levitation is a stock tale of the Yogī-Śūgī confrontations described in almost every hagiological work.³

The tradition that Nūru'd-Dīn made conversion to Islam a condition of his helping Zainu'd-Dīn, when he was sick, is also irreconcilable with Nūru'd-Dīn's humanitarian bent of mind. Mullā Aḥmad bin Ṣabūr says that Zainu'd-Dīn was searching for a *Pīr*, when he met Nūru'd-Dīn and became his disciple.⁴ His version accords better with Nūru'd-Dīn's known character.

Once again Mullā seems to show more respect for the facts in the reason he offers for Latīfu'd-Dīn's conversion. According to him, Latīfu'd-Dīn was overpowered by mystical attraction towards God, and so he abandoned his post and became Nūru'd-Dīn's disciple.⁵

The stories which credit Nūru'd-Dīn with having converted Bāmu'd-Dīn, Zainu'd-Dīn and Latīfu'd-Dīn to Islam are all concocted and seem to have been designed to prove Nūru'd-Dīn's zeal and missionary spirit. They show that he was not only an orthodox Śūfī but also a narrow minded Muslim. But in his recorded remarks there is no mention of this zeal.

1. In the modern district of Anantnāg.

2. *R.N.*, f. 294a; *A.Ab.*, f. 78a; *F.K.*, f. 98b; *T.H.*, III, pp. 132-3; *T.K.*, p. 104.

3. Cf. *supra*, p. 47.

4. *K.S.*, f. 42a.

5. *K.S.*, f. 38b.

He is said to have remarked once: "I am prejudiced against nobody and I seek to influence nobody".¹ Had he been orthodox and narrow minded he would not have recognized Lāllā as an *avatār* and superior to himself.² In his sayings, he strongly advises people to live in peace and asks both Hindus and Muslims to live as brothers.³ Again, had he been a missionary, he would have joined hands with Sūha, Bhatta, who put some restrictions on him,⁴ to convert the Hindus to Islam.

It is more likely that the simplicity love of mankind and sympathy with human suffering of Nūru'd-Dīn appealed to the people of other communities and many became his disciples and later on accepted Islam.

Bāmu'd-Dīn

After enrolling himself as one of the disciples of Nūru'd-Dīn, Bāmu'd-Dīn is said to have lived for twelve years,⁵ eating crushed stones and water as his food.⁶ This is obviously an exaggeration, but speaks at least of his reputation for piety. He is said to have kept no servant and never troubled himself about keeping a proper kitchen.⁷

It appears that Bāmu'd-Dīn, like his mentor, sought solitude. When 'Alī Shāh⁸ (1413-20), wanted to see him, he said that if the visit was really necessary, he should not come in his royal robes. The Sultan attended Bāmu'd-Dīn in the

1. *A.Ab.*, f. 69a.

2. See *supra*, p. 196.

3. See *supra*, p. 212.

4. See *supra*, p. 211.

5. *T.Ks.*, f. 32b; *A.Ab.*, ff. 71b-72a; *T.Az.*, p. 65; *F.K.*, f. 93b; *T.H.*, III, p. 128; *T.K.*, p. 102.

"Twelve years" seems to be an idiom for "a fair while".

6. *T.Ks.*, f. 38a; *R.N.*, f. 280a-b; *A.Ab.*, f. 72a; *F.K.*, f. 93b; *T.H.*, III, p. 128; *T.K.*, p. 102. According to A'zamī, he used to take nothing but water; *T.Az.*, p. 65.

7. *A.Ab.*, f. 72a; *T.Az.*, p. 65; III, p. 128; *T.K.*, p. 102.

8. *F.K.*, f. 93b; *T.H.*, III, p. 128. Other sources do not give the name of the Sultan.

dress of a peasant. He asked, as was the custom of the age, for the saint's advice; the reply was: "You have taken off the dress of a king, but you have not taken your mind from the cares of your kingdom. You refuse to remove the cotton wool of heedlessness from your ears; so what use would my company and advice be to you? The nature of rulers is like fire and the counsel and advice of saints like air; the fire flares up in the air". Again the Sultan asked if he could do anything for him Bāmu'd-Dīn replied: "Do not come to see me again, and do not mention my name in your court". The Sultān retorted: "What deep enmity you show for ordinary men". The reply was: "Only because I am enemy of worldliness". When the Sultān left, Bāmu'd-Dīn threw the mat, on which the Sultān had been sitting, in the river.¹

When Bāmu'd-Dīn was dying, somebody asked who was to wash his corpse; he replied: "Zainu'd-Dīn." His disciples told him that it was impossible for Zainu'd-Dīn to come, as he was in Tibet, far from Kashmir. Bāmū'd-Dīn replied that distance was nothing. When he died, Zainu'd-Dīn miraculously attended his funeral.² This tradition would imply that Bāmu'd-Dīn's death took place after 1420, as Zainū'd-Dīn's visit to Tibet, if true, occurred in the reign of Zainū'l-'Ābidīn³ (1420-70).

Bāmu'd-Dīn is buried at Bamuzu, where he is supposed to have maintained his idols and performed his worship as a Hindu, and later lived and prayed as a Muslim Rishī⁴.

Zainu'd-Dīn

The most distinguished of all the disciples of Shaikh

1. *R.N.*, f. 282a-b; *A.Ab.*, f. 72b; *F.K.*, f. 93b; *T.H.*, III, p. 128. Saiyid 'Alī, who also records the Sultān's visit to Bāmu'd-Dīn (*T.K.*, f. 38b), does not refer to the discussion between the two. Similar anecdotes are ascribed to other Ṣūfīs too.
2. *R.N.*, ff. 282b-283a; *A.Ab.*, f. 73a; *T.Az.*, p. 65; *F.K.*, f. 93b. See also *T.H.*, III, p. 128; *T.K.*, p. 102.
3. See *infra*, p. 223.
4. *R.N.*, f. 283a; *T.Az.*, p. 65; *F.K.*, f. 93b; *T.H.*, III, p. 128; *T.K.*, p. 102.

Nūru'd-Dīn was Zainu'd-Dīn. His piety and austerities earned a great name for him. Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn held him in great esteem¹ and in one of his sayings he pays glowing tributes to him : "My Zaina (Zainu'd-Din) is a fountain of the water of immortality; such is his devotion to the Almighty that he excels his guide."²

After serving his preceptor for many years, Zainu'd-Dīn under the orders of the Shaikh, moved to 'Aish-Maqām³ and stayed there in a cave.⁴ Like many other Rishīs, he applied himself to a life of simplicity and celibacy and adopted the forms of worship which the Rishīs considered most effective.

It is said that once he asked one of his disciples to bring from the market something bitter and disagreeable. The disciple brought black pepper, as he could find nothing more bitter. Zainu'd-Dīn was much pleased at its taste. He asked the price; the disciple replied "one *fulūs*" (small coin of uncertain value). He asked how much goat-meat he could have bought

1. Cf. *R.N.*, f. 285a; *F.K.*, f. 95a; *T.H.*, III, p. 129; *T.K.*, p. 103.
2. *Nūr-Nāmā*, p. 55 (poem 37).
3. *R.N.*, f. 234b; *A.Ab.*, f. 74a; *T.Az.*, p. 64; *F.K.*, f. 95a; *T.H.*, III, p. 129; *T.K.*, p. 102. 'Aish-Maqām or abode of pleasure, is thirteen miles from Anantnāg. Saiyid 'Alī, however, says that Zainu'd-Dīn moved to the village of Shaiva, in the *Pargana* Zaingīr (in the modern district of Bārāmūla); *T.Ks.*, f. 35b.
4. It is said that when Zainu'd-Dīn moved to 'Aish-Maqām, he found the cave full of snakes. He ordered them out and all except one old snake obeyed. Zainu'd-Dīn told it that for the sake of God, it too should move out, whereupon it went away. But Zainu'd-Dīn, fearing lest they be a source of trouble for the people, extracted a promise from all the snakes that they would harm nobody and in return he promised that nobody would harm them; *R.N.*, ff. 288b; 289 b. *A.Ab.*, f. 74a-b; *F.K.*, ff. 94b-95a; *T.H.*, III, p. 129; *T.K.*, pp. 102-3.

It is interesting to note that the Nāga cult prevailed in the Valley throughout Hindu rule (cf. *R.Tk.*, I, p. 183. For a detailed account, see Vogel, *Indian Serpent-Lore*, Ch. VI; Sunil Chandra Ray, "History of Religion in Ancient Kashmir", *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, March 1955, pp. 168-70). It seems that the cult was prevalent even during the Muslim rule. Abū'l-Fazl tells us that there were seven hundred places in the valley where there were carved images of snakes which the inhabitants worshipped; *A.A.*, II, p. 171,

with that amount; the disciple replied : "eight *ser*s".¹ Zainu'd-Dīn surprisingly remarked : "To make a meal of pepper means to eat enough for eight men". Therefore, he abandoned all thought of pepper, resolving to eat only raw nuts picked up from the ground.²

Many miracles are attributed to Zainu'd-Dīn. Once, in winter, one of his disciples went to bring water; he had to go a long way as there was no water near the cave. By chance he slipped, breaking his leg and smashing the pot. Shamsu'd-Dīn, one of the disciples of Zainu'd-Dīn, told his preceptor³ about this and asked who was to get the water. Zainu'd-Dīn prayed and the leg of his disciple was cured. He also got a hint from on high to go to Āina, a place nearby, and dig beneath a tree on which a crow would be sitting. He did this and water sprang up from the ground following him until he halted.⁴ The legend came to Abu'l-Faḥl's ears also; he writes : "In the village of 'Aish (Maqām) is the cell of Bābā Zainu'd-Dīn Rishī. It is in the side of a hill. It is said that in ancient times the hill held no water, but when he took up his abode there, a spring began to flow".⁵

Another legend has it that Zainu'd-Dīn once sent one of his disciples to a certain place. The king's officials, who were working on Shāhkul Canal,⁶ seized him for forced labour. When he returned and Zainu'd-Dīn learned what had happened, in his anger he caused the canal to dry up. It was only

1. One *ser* was equivalent to 15 *miṣqāl* or gold coins (cf. Steingass, *Persian English Dictionary*, pp. 715 and 1172). In modern Kashmiri it is equivalent to 2 lbs.

2. *R.N.*, f. 288a-b; *A.Ab.*, f. 75a; *F.K.*, f. 95b; *T.H.*, III, p. 130; *T.K.*, p. 103. See also *T.Ks.*, f. 35b.

3. But Wabhāb says that it was Shamsu'd-Dīn whose leg was broken; *F.K.*, f. 95a.

4. *R.N.*, f. 288a; *A.Ab.*, ff. 74b-75a; *T.Az.*, p. 64; *F.K.* f. 95a; *R.Nm.*, ff. 84b-85a; *T.H.*, III, pp. 129-30; *T.K.*, p. 104.

5. *A.A.*, II, p. 172.

6. This canal was constructed by Zainu'l-Ābidīn; *R.Tj.*, p. 87.

when the people demonstrated with Zainu'd-Dīn, that he restored the flow of water.¹

It is believed that Zainu'd-Dīn visited Tibet.² The sources assert that the cause of his visit to that country was the displeasure of Sultān Zainu'l-'Ābidīn (1420-70), who once went to see Zainu'd-Dīn, but was treated with scant attention. The Sultān was displeased, and asked him to leave his kingdom. Zainu'd-Dīn gladly agreed and betook himself and some of his disciples to Tibet, where he was accorded a warm welcome.³ But soon the son of the ruler of that country died⁴ and the people blamed Zainu'd-Dīn. He was threatened with death; he tried to convince them that it was God's will, not his, but all in vain. So he prayed to God, and the prince returned to life.⁵

Meanwhile, Sultān Zainu'l-'Ābidīn is said to have got a boil on his foot and physicians failed to cure him. He asked help from Hājī Adham,⁶ who told him that he was suffering because of the displeasure of Zainu'd-Dīn.⁷ So he sent his son,

1. *R.N.*, ff. 289b-290a; *F.K.*, f. 95b; *R.Nm.*, f. 86a-b; *T.H.*, III, pp. 130-1.
2. In medieval times the modern district of Ladākh was also called Tibet (little Tibet); cf. *R.Tk.*, II, p. 435.
3. *T.Ks.*, ff. 19b, 35b-36a; *R.N.*, f. 291a-b; *A.Ab.*, f. 76a-b; *F.K.*, f. 95b; *R.Nm.*, f. 107a-b; *T.H.*, III, p. 131.
4. *T.Ks.*, f. 136a; *A.Ab.*, f. 76b; *F.K.*, f. 96a; *T.H.*, III, p. 131. Naṣīb says that the son of a newly converted Muslim died and people told him that it was because of his conversation to Islam, for which Zainu'd-Dīn was responsible (*R.N.*, ff. 291b-292a). Mattū asserts that the son of one of the attendants of the queen died and Zainu'd-Dīn was accused for this; *R.Nm.*, f. 108b.
5. *T.Ks.*, f. 36a; *R.N.*, f. 292a; *A.Ab.*, f. 76b; *F.K.*, f. 96a; *R.Nm.*, f. 109a; *T.H.*, III, p. 131.
6. See for his biography, *supra*, p. 125.
7. *T.Ks.*, ff. 19b, 36b; *R.Nm.*, 109a.
According to Wāhhāb, the Sultān approached Latīfu'd-Dīn Rishī, one of the disciples of Nūru'd-Dīn (*F.K.*, f. 96a), whereas Naṣīb, Mishkāṭī and Ḥasan suggest that the Sultān himself realized that it was because of the displeasure of Zainu'd-Dīn; *R.N.*, f. 292a; *A.Ab.*, ff. 77a-b; *T.H.*, III, p. 131.

prince Ḥaidar,¹ to bring him back. The moment Zainu'd-Dīn put his foot on the road homewards the Sultān recovered and when the saint drew near, he personally went to receive him.²

The story bears the marks of fabrication and seem to have been concocted in order to glorify the miraculous powers of Zainu'd-Dīn Rishī. The same sources attribute to Zainu'l-'Ābidīn another example of royal rage being frustrated, when he approached Shaikh Bahāu'd-Dīn Ganjbakhsh, a Kubravīya saint.³ But he was not exiled. Moreover, Nūru'd-Dīn was still alive,⁴ enjoying very cordial relations with the Sultān.⁵ In such circumstances his intercession would surely have been sought, rather than that of Ḥājī Adham, as Zainu'd-Dīn was Nūru'd-Dīn's disciple.

According to Bābā Naṣīb,⁶ Zainu'd-Dīn introduced a special dress for the Rishīs, the *Rishī-jāma*. He believes that Zainu'd-Dīn had seen the dress of the *ḥājīs* in Mecca, where, because of his supernatural powers, he used to attend the Friday prayers. In Wāhhāb's *Futūḥāt-i-Kubravīya*, the dress is incidentally described in the life of Shamsu'd-Dīn, one of the disciples of Zainu'd-Dīn, as : "a variegated woollen cloak, with a black and white pattern worked into it."⁷

Before his death, Zainu'd-Dīn made a will requiring that after the funeral ritual his body he put in a *tābūt* and placed in a corner of the cave. The disciples did as he asked. But later they found the corpse missing from the *tābūt*. One night, after the disappearance of the body, one of his disciples dreamed that he desired a grave to be made in his name at the spot

1. *T.Ks.*, ff. 19b, 36b; *F.K.*, f. 96a; *R.Nm.*, f. 109a; *T.H.*, III, p. 131.

Others do not mention the name of the prince.

2. *T.Ks.*, f. 20b; *R.N.*, f. 292a; *A.Ab.*, f. 77b; *T.H.*, III, pp. 131-2.

3. See *supra*, p. 152, n. 3.

4. Cf. *K.S.*, f. 50a.

5. Cf. *supra*, p. 197.

6. *R.N.*, f. 292b.

7. *F.K.*, f. 96b.

where they had kept his *tābūt*.¹

Abū'l-Faḍl also seems to have been impressed by the story. He writes : "For twelve years he occupied this cell (at 'Aish-Maqām) and towards the end (of his life) he closed its mouth with a huge stone and never went forth again, and no one has ever found trace of him."²

The tomb of Zainu'd-Dīn, at 'Aish-Maqām is a source of inspiration for the masses of Kashmīr. "This shrine", a modern scholar writes, "is much respected by the boatmen of Kashmīr, who take their children [there] and cut off their first lock of hair. If this was done elsewhere the child would die or become blind."³

Latīfu'd-Dīn

Another disciple of Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn, who made the order popular, was Latīfu'd-Dīn Rishī. It is said that after he enrolled himself as one of the disciples of the Shaikh, the latter asked him what he had achieved up to that time. Latīfu'd-Dīn replied "wealth". The Shaikh asked : "Did your father also achieve it ?" He replied : "Yes, he did". The Shaikh then asked : "To whom did he leave it ?" Latīfu'd-Dīn replied : "To me". "Why did not he take it with him ?" asked the Shaikh. He replied : "It was not worth taking". The Shaikh remarked: "He was not wise; he accumulated some thing he could not take with him. The wise man strives for something worth taking [when he dies]".⁴

As already pointed out, Latīfu'd-Dīn was a rich man, thus Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn wanted to impress upon him that worldly goods were of no use for one on the path to God. Latīfu'd-Dīn, after serving the Shaikh for some time, was asked to settle

1. *A.Ab.*, f. 78a-b; *T.Az.*, p. 64; *F.K.*, f. 96a; *T.H.*, III, p. 133; *T.K.*, p. 104.

2. *A.A.*, II, pp. 172-3.

3. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmīr*, p. 288.

4. *A.Ab.*, f. 78b.

down at Uttar and was entrusted with two newly enrolled Rishis, Pīrbāz and Sharif Ashwār.¹

Latīfu'd-Dīn, like many other Rishis, at first used to eat *upalhākh* (a wild vegetable), but when he migrated to Uttar, he lived on another wild vegetable known as *Kanchan*,² even more bitter than *upalhākh*. The reason for this change is given that once he found *upalhākh* tough, and he enquired from Sharif why it was so. Sharif replied that he brought green herbs, while Pīrbāz used to bring dry ones. Latīfu'd-Dīn then asked Pīrbāz why he used to bring dry herbs. He replied for two reasons : firstly that when one cuts the green herbs they start bleeding, secondly that when they are boiled, they cry "why do you kill and burn us ?" Latīfu'd-Dīn was moved by the arguments of his disciple and he gave up eating all kinds of green herbs as he believed that he was destroying another life to keep himself alive.³

Towards the end of his life, Latīfu'd-Dīn moved from Uttar to Poskar,⁴ because at Uttar people in large numbers used to come to him and ask for his blessings.⁵ It was at Poskar that he breathed his last and was buried.⁶

1. *T.Ks.*, f. 39b; *R.N.*, f. 294b; *A.Ab.*, f. 78b; *F.K.*, f. 98b; *T.H.*, III, p. 133; *T.K.*, p. 104.

2. *R.N.*, ff. 294b-295a; *A.Ab.*, f. 79a; *F.K.*, ff. 98b, 99a; *T.H.*, III, p. 133. *Kanhan* is used for medical dressing and draws out the pus from pimples and boils.

3. *R.N.*, ff. 324b-325a; *A.Ab.*, ff. 92b-93a; *F.K.*, f. 99a; *T.H.*, III, p. 164. Mullā does not quote the anecdote regarding Latīfu'd-Dīn's change of diet, but says simply that he gave up eating green herbs; *K.S.*, f. 39a.

4. *T.Ks.*, f. 39b; *R.N.*, f. 295a; *A.Ab.*, f. 79a; *K.S.*, f. 39a; *F.K.*, f. 99a; *T.H.*, III, p. 133.

5. *T.Ks.*, ff. 39b-40a.

6. *Ibid.*, f. 46a; *R.N.*, f. 295a; *A.Ab.*, f. 79a; *K.S.*, f. 39a; *F.K.*, f. 99a; *T.H.*, III, p. 133.

Naṣru'd-Dīn

One of the favourite disciples and constant companions of Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn was Nasru'd-Dīn, commonly known in Kashmīr as Nasr Rishī. He was the son of a wealthy family,¹ living at Sazīpur in the *pargana* of Yech.² Once, when young, he fell ill and his digestion failed entirely. His parents spent lavishly, but all in vain. On his sick-bed, he dreamed that he saw a group of people and enquired who they all were, and who was sitting in their midst. They replied that they were the body of *abdāls* and seated in the middle was the celebrated Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn of Kaimuh, and they suggested that he visit him as soon as he could, if he wished to be cured of his disease. He told his parents what he had seen in the dream. They forthwith set off to wait upon the Shaikh, taking their son with them.³ Nūru'd-Dīn asked him what was wrong and what was his name. He described his disease and said: "My name is Naṣr and my title is Raothar ("wrestler" in Kashmīr)." Nūru'd-Dīn told him: "Are you able to live up to your title?" Naṣru'd-Dīn replied: "If I had your favour, I could." Then Nūru'd-Dīn told one of his disciples to bring food for Nasru'd-Dīn and asked the latter to eat as much as he could.⁴ As soon as he had finished the food he found a spiritual change in himself and bade farewell to his parents, saying: "I have found my physician". They were shocked and said: "Our life will be miserable without you". Naṣru'd-Dīn replied: "To make it sweet, be with God."⁵ Thus he bade farewell to the world and remained with Nūru'd-Dīn until his death.⁶

1. *T.Ks.*, f. 40a; *R.N.*, f. 296a; *A.Ab.*, f. 79b; *T.Az.*, p. 65; *F.K.*, f. 100b; *T.H.*, III, p. 134; *T.K.*, p. 105.

2. *T.Ks.*, f. 40a. The *pargana* Yech adjoins Srinagar on the south-west.

3. *T.Ks.*, f. 40a; *R.N.*, f. 296a-b; *A.Ab.*, f. 79b; *T.Az.*, p. 66; *F.K.*, f. 100b; *T.H.*, III, p. 134; *T.K.*, pp. 105-6.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *A.Ab.*, f. 80a; *F.K.*, f. 100b.

6. *R.N.*, f. 226b; *A.Ab.*, ff. 79b-80a; *T.Az.*, p. 66; *F.K.*, f. 100b; *T.H.*, III, p. 134; *T.K.*, p. 106.

Mullā however, says that Naṣru'd-Dīn had renounced the world, on his own, and was searching for a *pīr*. On meeting Nūru'd-Dīn, he became his disciple; *K.S.*, f. 37a.

During his spiritual apprenticeship, Naṣru'd-Dīn was entrusted with the care of other disciples of Nūru'd-Dīn. It is said that Naṣru'd-Dīn fasted and ate ashes mixed with water at the time of *iftār*. This he did alone, and nobody knew of it. One of the Shaikh's disciples thought that he was drinking milk himself, but proving only *sāg* (spinach) for them. He complained to Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn. The Shaikh asked him to watch Naṣru'd-Dīn and snatch his cup as soon as he had prepared it. When he finally succeeded, he brought the cup to Nūru'd-Dīn, who asked him to taste it; he found that it was not milk but ashes, and was covered with shame.¹

Nūru'd-Dīn then asked Naṣru'd-Dīn to take rice instead of ashes.² It is reported that Naṣru'd-Dīn made it his habit to take only a hundred grains of rice daily.³ According to *Miskīn*,⁴ Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn used gradually to reduce the quantity Naṣru'd-Dīn ate until finally he took only twenty grains of rice as his full meal. Once, when under the command of the Shaikh, Naṣru'd-Dīn began a retreat of forty days with only four walnuts to eat. After ten days in solitude, he was trying to crack the first walnut and Nūru'd-Dīn, who happened to pass by, heard the sound. He asked what he was doing.

1. *R.N.*, f. 297a; *A.Ab.*, f. 80a-b; *F.K.*, f. 100b; *T.H.*, III, p. 135.

Mullā says that Naṣru'd-Dīn used to eat ashes, although Nūru'd-Dīn had asked him to drink milk (*K.S.*, f. 37a). But it is unlikely that Naṣru'd-Dīn would do something contrary to what his preceptor had asked of him.

Secondly, when one of the disciples of Nūru'd-Dīn complained to him that Naṣru'd-Dīn was drinking milk, the Shaikh would have told him he did it on his advice.

2. *T.Ks.*, 40b; *R.N.*, f. 297b; *A.Ab.*, f. 81a; *K.S.*, f. 37b; *F.K.*, f. 100b; *T.K.*, p. 125.

3. *T.Ks.*, f. 40b.

Naṣīb and Mullā say that he used to take only fourteen grains of rice (*R.N.*, f. 297b; *K.S.*, f. 37b), and *Mishkāī* and *Wahhāb* say that he used to eat eighteen grains (*A.Ab.*, f. 81a; *F.K.*, f. 100b).

4. *T.K.*, p. 105.

Nasru'd-Dīn replied by breaking a walnut. Nūru'd-Dīn remarked : "I thought you were breaking your nafs and here you are cracking a walnut".¹ When Naşru'd-Dīn finished his retreat, he presented all four walnuts to the Shaikh.²

Naşru'd-Dīn was the constant companion of Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn from the day he joined him. Out of affection the Shaikh used to call him by the name of "Naşro", and addressed some of his sayings to him. The following sayings of the Shaikh on the subject "come good, come evil, there is an end" are addressed to Naşru'd-Dīn.

"When the body was bared to the wind of the Jehlum,
that day has passed, O Naşar.
When we had only thin curry and unsalted vegetables
to eat, that day too has gone, O Naşar.
When the wife was near and warm clothing covered,
the bed, that day too has gone by, O Naşar.
When boiled rice and sliced fish were provided for us,
that day also has passed, O Naşar."³
"In those glittering halls of lords [*khān*],
The great were told to shrink back.
I say pretty damsels singing songs there;
They were sweeping the dust with Yak's tails.
There I now observed cotton being sown.
I saw, O Naşar, thou mightiest also go to see it".⁴

When Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn died, Naşru'd-Dīn succeeded him as the head of the Rishīs at Chrār. It is said that before Naşru'd-Dīn died, the Shaikh appeared to him in a dream and told him that he had done much good work and suffered much

1. *T.H.*, III, p. 135; *T.K.*, p. 105.

2. *T.H.*, III, p. 135. Miskīn says that on hearing the words of the Shaikh, Naşru'd-Dīn threw all four walnuts outside the cave he was living in; *T.K.*, p. 105.

3. Kaul, "A Life of Nand Rishī", *The Indian Antiquary*, LIX, February, 1932, p. 32.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 30-1. See also *Nūr-Nāmā*, pp. 111, 130 (poems 134, 168).

hardship and it was now time for Naṣru'd-Dīn to join him (in the next world). The Shaikh also asked him to entrust the charge of the Rishīs at Chrār to Malik Jogī Raina,¹ who was one of the nobles of the royal court² and who used often to visit Nūru'd-Dīn and later Naṣru'd-Dīn.³

Naṣru'd-Dīn, in accordance with the command of the Shaikh, approached Malik Jogī who refused to accept the offer. But during the night a sudden change came over him; he became restless, tore out his clothes and rushed to Naṣru'd-Dīn, who was near death. He nominated Malik Jogī as his successor⁴ and soon breathed his last, in 855/1451.⁵ He was buried next to his perceptor at Chār.⁶

Qiyāmu'd-Dīn

Another outstanding disciple of Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn was Qiyāmu'd-Dīn Rishī.⁷ Nothing is known about his early life except that he had no formal education⁸ and that right from the very beginning he associated with holy-men.⁹ At some stage he came into contact with the Shaikh and became his disciple.¹⁰ After some time, at the direction of Nūru'd-Dīn, he took up his residence at the village of Manzgām,¹¹ where he established a cell near a spring called Dūdh-Pokar.¹²

1. Miskin at one place calls him Jogī Raina (*T.K.*, p. 105), and at another place Zogī Raina; *T.K.*, p. 114.
2. *A.Ab.*, f. 81a; *F.K.*, f. 101a; *T.H.*, III, pp. 135, 170; *T.K.*, p. 114.
3. *T.H.*, III, p. 170.
4. *A.Ab.*, f. 81a; *F.K.*, f. 101a; *T.H.*, III, p. 135; *T.K.*, p. 105.
5. *T.H.*, III, p. 135; *T.K.*, p. 105.
6. *A.Ab.*, f. 81a; *F.K.*, f. 101a; *T.H.*, III, p. 135; *T.K.*, p. 105.
7. *A.Ab.*, f. 81b; *F.K.*, f. 92b.
8. *R.N.*, f. 183a; *A.Ab.*, f. 82a.
9. *Ibid.*, f. 82a; *F.K.*, f. 92b; *T.H.*, III, p. 136.
10. *R.N.*, f. 182a; *A.Ab.*, f. 82a; *T.Az.*, p. 66; *F.K.*, f. 92b; *T.H.*, III, p. 136; *T.K.*, p. 106.
11. In the modern district of Anantnāg.
12. *R.N.*, f. 182a; *A.Ab.*, f. 82a; *T.Az.*, p. 66; *F.K.*, f. 92b; *T.H.*, III, p. 136; *T.K.*, p. 106. It is said that before his arrival there, the place looked like a desert and all the trees and plants were dry. But as soon as he took up his abode there, everything turned green.

Like many other Rishīs, Qiyāmu'd-Dīn fasted regularly and would eat only wild vegetables. Hardships and austere penances, to which he had applied himself, reduced him to skin and bone.¹ When questioned why he reduced himself to this state, Qiyāmu'd-Dīn burst into tears and said : "I am not literate enough to teach or guide anyone; I have not read the Qur'ān; if I could, I might draw near to God. What other form of worship remains, but to enfeeble myself, to abandon food, and to practise austerities ? Thus I might move God to forgive me my sins."²

After many years of such a life, Qiyāmu'd-Dīn died at Manzgām, and was buried there.³ None of the sources mention the date of his death, and it is possible only to speculate that he outlived his *pīr*.

Disciples of Bāmu'd-Dīn

One of the distinguished disciples of Bāmu'd-Dīn was Shamsu'd-Dīn.⁴ He hailed from Maru-Wardwan.⁵ Nothing is known about his early life and how and when he came into contact with Bāmu'd-Dīn. However, after completing the preliminary stages of the Rishī path, he settled down at a village.⁶

1. *R.N.*, f. 183a; *A.Ab.*, f. 82a; *T.Az.*, p. 66; *F.K.*, f. 92b; *T.H.*, III, p. 136; *T.K.*, p. 106.

2. *R.N.*, f. 183a.

3. *Ibid.*, f. 183a; *A.Ab.*, f. 82a; *T.Az.*, p. 66; *F.K.*, f. 92b; *T.H.*, III, p. 136; *T.K.*, p. 106.

4. *T.Ks.*, f. 42b; *R.N.*, f. 305a; *A.Ab.*, f. 85b; *K.S.*, f. 52a; *T.Az.*, p. 69; *F.K.*, f. 93b; *T.H.*, III, p. 148.

5. *T.Ks.*, f. 42b; *K.N.*, f. 305a; *A.Ab.*, f. 85b; *T.Az.*, p. 69; *F.K.*, f. 93b; *T.H.*, III, p. 148. Maru-Wardwan is in the area which forms the eastern front of Kashmīr, and at present is in the district of Anantnāg.

6. The sources are not unanimous about the name of the village. Saiyid 'Alī (*T.Ks.*, f. 42b) gives the name of the village as "Kru", Naṣīb and Wabhāb (*R.N.*, f. 305a; *F.K.*, f. 93b) "Krūhin", Mishkāṭī and Ḥasan (*A.Ab.*, f. 85b; *T.H.*, III, p. 148) "Kraiwan" and A'zamī (*T.Az.*, p. 69) "Krūr". Of all these places only Krūhin can be iden-

in the *pargana* of Kuthār.¹

Shamsu'd-Dīn is believed to have starved himself to a skelton.² It is said that he was so feeble that he could not sit down or rise up and therefore used to lie all the time in a wooden box.³ Mishkāṭī relates an amusing anecdote which perhaps explains the assertions of Shamsu'd-Dīn. Once when asked why he spent all his time in the box, Shamsu'd-Dīn replied: "I do it so that I may avoid any contact with the world, from the moment of leaving my mother's tomb until I am placed in my grave. Thus I shall pass uncontaminated from this world to the next."

Although no mention is made of Shamsu'd-Dīn's disciples, a miracle, differently told by the sources, suggests that he had the reputation of preserving his disciples from all calamities. It is said that once one of his disciples went to Tibet with the royal army. Somehow his wife came to know that he was dead. She came to Shamsu'd-Dīn who told her that she need not worry, as her husband was safe. But this simple explanation did not satisfy her. Shamsu'd-Dīn unwillingly told her that he was himself protecting her husband and asked her not to reveal this to anyone. When she returned home, she disclosed it. This made Shamsu'd-Dīn angry and he moved to the village of Tarighm in the *pargana* Divasar⁵ (in the modern district of Ahantnāg). It was there that he breathed his

tified but that is in the district of Bārāmūla. However, it seems certain that Shāmsu'd-Dīn had settled down at some village in the district of Anantnāg.

1. *T.Ks.*, f. 42b; Kutahār is to the east of Anantnāg.
2. *T.Ks.*, f. 42b; *R.N.*, 305b; *A.Ab.*, f. 85b; *K.S.*, f. 52a; *T.Az.*, p. 69; *F.K.*, f. 94a; *T.H.*, III, p. 148.
3. *Ibid.* The sources have the word *tābūt* ("coffin or bier").
4. *A.Ab.*, f. 85b.
5. *T.Ks.*, f. 42b; *R.N.*, ff. 305b-306a; *K.S.*, f. 52a; *T.Az.*, p. 69; *F.K.*, ff. 93b-94a; *T.H.*, III, p. 148. Mishkāṭī says once one of the disciples of Shamsu'd-Dīn was travelling in Tibet, where he fell into the hands of robbers. Thereupon he thought of Shamsu'd-Dīn and prayed. Shamsu'd-Dīn miraculously appeared and saved him; *A.Ab.*, f. 85b.

last.¹

Another disciple of Bāmu'd-Dīn was Ḥanīfu'd-Dīn Ḥaidar.² He was a native of the village of Akhāl, in the *pargana* of Lār.³ He is said to have been very rich.⁴ Later when he came into contact with Bāmu'd-Dīn, he renounced the world and became his disciple.⁵ After serving his preceptor for some years, Ḥanīfu'd-Dīn went to the village of Yār (in the *pargana* of Lār), where he lived alone in a cell.⁶ After some time he moved to his native village, Akhāl, where he stayed in the house of a disciple.⁷

We are told that Ḥanīfu'd-Dīn was very handsome, and a woman of the family with whom he was staying desired him. One day, when the family had to attend a feast, she made a pretext to stay at home and when they were alone she threw herself at Ḥanīfu'd-Dīn. He tried to impress upon her the wickedness of her desire, in vain. Desperate, he thrust his penis into the glowing coals of a brazier, and became unconscious.⁸ When he recovered, he left for Yār,⁹ where he died on

1. *T.Ks.*, f. 42b; *R.N.*, f. 306b; *K.S.*, f. 52a; *T.Az.*, p. 70; *F.K.*, f. 94a; *T.H.*, III, p. 149. *Mishkāṭī* also says that he died at Tarigām (*A.Ab.*, f. 85b), but does not give any reason for Shamsu'd-Dīn's migration to that village.
2. *T.Ks.*, f. 43a; *R.N.*, f. 306 b; *A.Ab.*, f. 84b; *T.Az.*, p. 71; *F.K.*, f. 94a; *T.H.*, III, p. 149; *T.K.*, p. 112.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *A.Ab.*, f. 84b; *T.H.*, III, p. 149; *T.K.*, p. 112.
5. *T.Ks.*, f. 43a; *R.N.*, f. 306b; *A.Ab.*, f. 84b; *T.Az.*, p. 71; *F.K.*, f. 94a; *T.H.*, III, p. 149; *T.K.*, p. 112.
6. *R.N.*, f. 306b; *F.K.*, f. 94a; *T.K.*, p. 112. Saiyid 'Alī and *Mishkāṭī* believe that he moved to Akhāl (*T.Ks.*, f. 43a; *A.Ab.*, 84b), and Ḥasan says that he moved to the village of Surach (*T.H.*, III, p. 149). But this place cannot be identified and Ḥasan himself, does not mention it in the volume in which he describes the geography of Kashmir (*T.H.*, I).
7. *R.N.*, f. 307a; *F.K.*, f. 94a; *T.H.*, III, p. 149; *T.K.*, p. 112.
8. *T.Ks.*, f. 43a; *R.N.*, f. 307a-b; *A.Ab.*, ff. 84b-85a; *F.K.*, f. 94a; *T.H.*, III, p. 149; *T.K.*, p. 112.
9. *R.N.*, f. 307b; *T.H.*, III, p. 150; *T.K.*, p. 112.
Mishkāṭī and *Wahhāb* say that he moved to Akhāl (*A.Ab.*, f. *Contd.*

7 Jumādu'l-Auwal, 890/22 May, 1485.¹

Rajabu'd-Dīn Mīr was another prominent disciple of Bāmu'd-Dīn.² It is said that he and his two brothers, *Shaukat* Mīr and *Fakhr*u'd-Dīn Mīr,³ were intimate companions of the ruler of the time⁴ and thus used to live a life of ease and merriment.⁵ One day, the legend goes, they met Bāmu'd-Dīn on the road, and told him to carry their jug of wine home for them and serve it. But every cup he poured turned to milk. They asked who he was, and on hearing that Bāmu'd-Dīn, a holy man, was among them, renounced their old ways and became his disciples.⁶

No further details are available about the two brothers of Rajabu'd-Dīn. He, however, is said to have applied himself to great spiritual penances under the direction of Bāmu'd-Dīn.⁷ Later he settled down at the mountain of Nāgnāran in Martand, where he lived until his death.⁸

Some sources tell us that he kept himself busy in reciting the Qur'ān, and used to earn his livelihood by copying it.⁹ If

Contd.

84b; *F.K.*, f. 94a). But earlier *Mishkāṭī* held that Ḥanīfu'd-Dīn had shifted to Akhāl, as soon as he left his preceptor (see supra p. 236, n. 7). And *Wahhāb*'s statement is also contradictory. Earlier he states that Ḥanīfu'd-Dīn moved from Yār to Akhāl (see supra, p. 236, n. 8) where this incident took place. Naṣīb, Ḥasan and Miskīn, therefore, seem to be correct in stating that Ḥanīfu'd-Dīn moved to Yār from Akhāl.

1. *T.H.*, III, p. 150; *T.K.*, p. 112.

2. *T.Ks.*, f. 40b; *R.N.*, f. 297b; *A.Ab.*, f. 82b; *K.S.*, f. 52b; *T.Az.*, p. 70; *F.K.*, f. 94a; *T.H.*, III, p. 143; *T.K.*, p. 110.

3. *A.Ab.*, f. 82b; *T.Az.*, p. 70; *T.H.*, III, pp. 143, 144, *T.K.*, pp. 110, 111. Naṣīb and *Wahhāb* mention only Rajabu'd-Dīn and *Shaukat*; *R.N.*, f. 297b; *F.K.*, f. 94a.

4. *R.N.*, f. 298a; *F.K.*, f. 94a.

A'zamī says that they had migrated to Kashmir from Persia and does not clearly mention their occupation (*T.Az.*, p. 70). However, Ḥasan asserts that they were military officers; *T.H.*, III, p. 143.

5. *R.N.*, f. 298a; *F.K.*, f. 94a; *T.H.*, III, p. 143.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *R.N.*, f. 297b; *A.Ab.*, f. 82b; *T.Az.*, p. 70; *F.K.*, f. 94a; *T.H.*, III, p. 144; *T.K.*, p. 110.

8. *Ibid.*

9. *R.N.*, f. 297b; *A.Ab.*, f. 82b; *T.Az.*, p. 71; *T.K.*, p. 110.

the account is correct, it makes the life of Rajabu'd-Dīn unusual, for no earlier Rishī is known to have concerned himself with the Qur'ān.

Rajabu'd-Dīn is said to have had many disciples, among whom the most distinguished was Naurūz Rishī.¹ He is believed to have been handsome and attractive and had been asked by his preceptor not to move about.² One day, without the knowledge of Rajabu'd-Dīn,³ Naurūz went to a certain village with some other Rishīs. There a girl saw him and she fell in love with him.⁴ When Rajabu'd-Dīn learnt about this, he ordered him to leave. Naurūz, disappointed and disgusted, decided to go on a pilgrimage. He went to the village of Gaurīgām⁵ to seek monetary help from one of his friends, Sānī Pandit, who asked Naurūz to stay in his house, as pilgrimage was not obligatory for a man as poor as he was. So Naurūz remained in Sānī's house for about six years, while his former associates knew nothing about him.⁶

When Rajabu'd-Dīn was dying, his disciples asked him to nominate his successor. Rajabu'd-Dīn told them he would be found at the village of Gaurīgām in the house of Sānī Pandit. When Rajabu'd-Dīn was buried, some of his disciples came to Gaurīgām and asked Naurūz to return to Nāgnāran to take the

1. *T.Ks.*, f. 41a; *R.N.*, f. 298a; *A.Ab.*, f. 82b; *K.S.*, f. 53a; *F.K.*, f. 94a; *T.H.*, III, p. 145; *T.K.*, p. 111.

2. *T.Ks.*, f. 41a; *R.N.*, f. 298a; *A.Ab.*, f. 82b; *T.H.*, III, p. 145; *T.K.*, p. 111.

3. *A.Ab.*, f. 282p; *T.H.*, III, p. 145.

Saiyid 'Alī and Naṣīb maintain that Naurūz went with the permission of Rajabu'd-Dīn (*T.Ks.*, f. 41a; *R.N.*, f. 298a). But this seems wrong as Rajab would not have then later asked him to leave. Miskīn says a girl fell in love with Naurūz, but he does not record the name of the place; cf. *T.K.*, p. 111.

4. *T.Ks.*, f. 41a; *R.N.*, f. 298a-b; *A.Ab.*, ff. 82b-83a; *T.H.*, III, 145.

5. This village cannot be identified. Although Ḥasan mentions it in the portion of his work devoted to the Saints of Kashmir, but fails to notice it in the geographical portion of his work.

6. *T.Ks.*, f. 41a; *R.N.*, ff. 298b, 299a; *A.Ab.*, f. 83a; *T.H.*, III, p. 145.

Mullā, who does not relate this story, says that Naurūz had the permission of Rajabu'd-Dīn to go on the pilgrimage, but he stayed at Sānī's house instead; *K.S.*, f. 53a-b.

seat of his preceptor, which he did.¹

Meanwhile his patron Sānī Paṇḍit was falsely accused by the villagers of corrupt dealings in his official duties. He asked the help of Naurūz Rishī, who returned to Gaurīgām and asked the villagers to drop the charge. They agreed on condition that before sunset, a feast be served and that Naurūz take part in that. As Naurūz used to fast continuously, they might have thought he would refuse. But he agreed and the feast was prepared. When it was ready, he stayed in the mosque, remaining there even after the sun had gone down. The villagers rejoiced at his failure to fulfil the condition. But when he heard of it, he came out and said : "The sun is still up." To their surprise the sun appeared again, and Naurūz bowed down on the ground and breathed his last,² and was buried there in the village of Gaurīgām.³

Among the disciples of Naurūz Rishī is mentioned Hardī Rishī, who succeeded him as the head of the Rishīs at Nāgnāran.⁴ Contrary to the accepted practice, Hardī Rishī urged his disciples to earn their own livelihood.⁵ He directed them to take up agriculture, saying that if they had not the strength to do much, they could at least cultivate daily an area the size of his prayer-carpet.⁶

1. *R.N.*, f. 299b; *A.Ab.*, f. 83b; *K.S.*, f. 53b; *T.H.*, III, p. 145.

Saiyid 'Alī maintains that Rajab was still alive when Naurūz returned; *T.Ks.*, f. 41a-b.

2. *R.N.*, ff. 299b-300a; *A.Ab.*, f. 83b; *R.K.*, f. 94a-b; *K.S.*, f. 53b.

Hasan says that when the sun appeared once again, the people fell at his feet and after the feast was served, Naurūz offered evening prayer and died while still in *sijda* (prostration); *T.H.*, III, pp. 145-6. Saiyid 'Alī, however, maintains that he went to Gaurīgām at the invitation of Sānī Paṇḍit and does not relate the tale of Sānī being charged by the villagers; *T.Ks.*, f. 41b.

3. *Ibid.*, f. 41b; *K.S.*, f. 53b; *F.K.*, f. 94b. Hasan says that Naurūz was buried at Nāgnāran (*T.H.*, III, p. 146), which means that his dead body was carried to Nāgnāran.
4. *T.Ks.*, f. 41b; *R.N.*, f. 301a; *A.Ab.*, ff. 83b-84a; *K.S.*, f. 53b; *F.K.*, f. 94b; *R.Nm.*, f. 80b; *T.H.*, III, p. 146; *T.K.*, pp. 111-2.
5. *R.N.*, f. 301a; *A.Ab.*, f. 84a; *F.K.*, f. 94b; *R.Nm.*, f. 80b; *T.H.*, III, p. 146; *T.K.*, p. 112.
6. *R.N.*, f. 301a; *A.Ab.*, f. 84a; *F.K.*, f. 94b,

Hardī Rishī is said to have lived for seven years after the death of his preceptor,¹ and when he died he was buried at Nāgnāran.² Among his prominent disciples was Nandī Rishī.³ As usual, nothing is known about his early life; he lived in solitude at Nāgnāran for many years,⁴ making it his practice not to show his face to any woman,⁵ not even his sister.⁶

Once when Nandī Rishī had nothing to eat,⁷ one of his disciples asked what was to be done. Nandī replied: "Wash the kettle and put in clean water." When the water began to boil, Nandī asked the disciple to wait at the door and watch. Suddenly a woman arrived, accompanied by six men loaded with articles of food.⁸ She urged the disciple to allow her to enter and speak to Nandī from outside the door of his cell. She came in and told Nandī that she had something to say to him. He answered: "Gracious mother, the holy law forbids men to hear the voice of women, but it is unkind to refuse the request of anyone in need". The woman said: "I own some land which I have vowed to give you as a gift". Nandī Rishī declined to accept it, saying: "We are Rishīs, relying upon God for sustenance". The woman begged him to use it to satisfy the needs of his visitors. Nandī Rishī was still unmoved, but his disciples urged him to take it, saying: "Although we have no need of this land ourselves, not all human beings are alike. Who knows how future generations (of Rishīs) will act? If

1. *R.N.*, f. 301a; *A.Ab.*, f. 84a; *K.S.*, f. 53b; *T.H.*, III, p. 146.

2. *T.Ks.*, f. 41b; *K.S.*, f. 54a; *T.H.*, III, p. 146; *T.K.*, p. 112.

3. *T.Ks.*, f. 41b; *R.N.*, f. 301a; *A.Ab.*, f. 84a; *K.S.*, f. 54a; *F.K.*, f. 94b; *R.Nm.*, f. 80b. Ḥasan and Miskīn say that he was the disciple of Naurūz Rishī; *T.H.*, III, p. 146; *T.K.*, p. 111.

4. The sources say that he remained in solitude for about 54 years; *R.N.*, f. 301b; *A.Ab.*, f. 84a; *R.Nm.*, f. 81a; *T.H.*, III, p. 147.

5. *T.Ks.*, f. 41b; *R.N.*, f. 301b; *A.Ab.*, f. 84a; *R.Nm.*, f. 81a; *T.H.*, III, p. 147.

6. *R.N.*, f. 301b; *R.Nm.*, f. 81a; *T.H.*, III, p. 147.

7. This would mean that after the death of Hardī his disciples had given up tilling the land or earning their livelihood themselves.

8. The purpose of Nandī's asking the disciple to boil the water is not clear. Presumably the incident of the kettle is introduced to emphasize the virtue of patience.

you accept the land no harm could follow, for the land which this gracious lady is offering her own absolute property, settled upon her at her marriage (*mahr*). The Rishis who will live here in future would be benefited by your present kindness. Supporting themselves with the produce of this land, they would be able to devote themselves to God without any worry".¹

Nandī Rishī was impressed by the arguments put forward by his disciples, and accepted the gift.² Before he died, Nandī Rishī appointed Bābā Hājī Rishī as his successor.³ The story of the Bābā's appointment is presented as an illustration of Nandī Rishī's reputed powers of clairvoyance.

It is said that once Bābā Hājī offended his preceptor and was expelled from the order. He departed so quickly that he left a plate of food uneaten in his cell. Eventually he went on pilgrimage to Mecca, and when he returned to Kashmir, he resolved to visit Nandī Rishī disguised as a yogi.⁴

Meanwhile Nandī Rishī was telling his disciples that the man of the hour (*sāhib-i-hangām*) was about to arrive and succeed him. When Bābā Hājī called, his disguise was seen through, Nandī Rishī told him to stop playing the fool, clean himself up and go and sit in his old cell.⁵

The Bābā was astonished to find in his cell the very plate of food he had left so long ago, still quite fresh.⁶ He showed it to the other Rishis. Nandī Rishī was displeased and told the Bābā that he had committed a grave error by disclosing a Divine secret and predicted that he would be punished by many trials and finally go blind.⁷

1. *R.N.*, f. 302a-b; *F.K.*, f. 94b; *R.Nm.*, f. 81a-b; see also *T.H.*, III, p. 147; *T.K.*, p. 111.

2. *R.N.*, f. 302b; *F.K.*, 94b; *R.Nm.*, f. 81b; *T.H.*, III, p. 147; *T.K.*, p. 111.

3. *R.N.*, f. 303a; *A.Ab.*, f. 84a; *F.K.*, f. 94b; *R.Nm.*, f. 83a; *T.H.*, III, p. 147. See also *T.Ks.*, f. 41b; *K.S.*, f. 54a-b; *T.K.*, p. 111.

4. *R.N.*, ff. 303b-304a; *F.K.*, f. 94b; *T.H.*, III, pp. 147-8.

5. *Ibid.*

6. The story is based upon similar anecdotes told of the Prophet's *mi'rāj*.

7. *R.N.*, f. 304b; *F.K.*, f. 94b; *T.H.*, III, p. 148.

Shortly afterwards, Nandī Rishī died, and was buried at Nāgnāran.¹ As he had foreseen, he was succeeded by Bābā Hājī, “who kept his sight for two years and lived (another) eighteen months in darkness”.²

Not long after his preceptor's death, Bābā Hājī, was involved in serious embarrassment. Some men approached his servant and told him that a calamity had befallen them and they would like to leave their belongings in safe custody with him. The servant, not realising that the goods were stolen and the men were thieves, accepted the goods. But when the officers of the watch finally traced them, they interrogated Bābā Hājī, who denied all knowledge of the affair. His servant, however, revealed that he had accepted some property for safe custody, and the officers identified it as the stolen goods were seeking. Forthwith they arrested the Bābā and were taking him away when they were attacked by a herd of cows which he had reared. They were seriously injured and the Bābā returned unhurt to his abode.³ The officers complained to the king, who was familiar with the reputation of the Rishis. He merely said : “It is a wonder that the cows did not kill you.”⁴

When Bābā Hājī died, he was buried at Nāgnāran.⁵ It seems that his disciples may have broken up; no successor is known, and the line of Bāmu'd-Dīn appears to have ended with him.

Disciples of Zainu'd-Dīn

Zainu'd-Dīn, the disciple of Nūru'd-Dīn, had a large band of followers; the most prominent among them were the following.

Payāmu'd-Dīn, who hailed from the village of Chandnu,

1. Ibid., f. 304b; *ibid.*, f. 94b; *ibid.*, III, p. 148.
2. *R.N.*, f. 304b. See also *F.K.*, f. 94b; *T.H.*, III, p. 148.
3. *R.N.*, f. 305a; *K.S.*, f. 54b; *F.K.*, f. 94b; *R.Nm.*, f. 83a-b; *T.H.*, III, p. 148.
4. *R.N.*, f. 305a; *R.Nm.*, f. 83b.
5. *R.N.*, f. 305a; *F.K.*, f. 94b; *R.Nm.*, f. 83a; *T.H.*, III, p. 149.

pargana Lār,¹ is said to have been one of the nobles of the ruler of Kashmir.² Once while hunting, he observed ants carrying grain to their stores, and he became impressed with the necessity of laying up stores for the 'life to come' and accordingly bade farewell to the world and worldly things and became a disciple of Zainu'd-Dīn.³

After serving his preceptor for many years, Payāmu'd-Dīn was ordered to settle down in the forest of Ranbūh,⁴ where he spent the rest of his life.⁵ He died in 839/1484.⁶ It is said that before he became a Rishī, his wife was pregnant and later gave birth to a son. When he grew older, he turned a debauchee. Once it happened that Payāmu'd-Dīn was passing through a certain village, where he heard some women telling one another how notorious his son was. On hearing them, Payāmu'd-Dīn prayed that if this was true, his son might die. His prayers were immediately answered and his son died.⁷

Another disciple of Zainu'd-Dīn was Uttar Thākūr. He is said to have been the son of a chief (*sardār-zāda*)⁸ and a descendant of Thākūr family.⁹ It is said that for a time he became a madman and used to roam from place to place naked. His parents approached Zainu'd-Dīn, who sent one of his

1. *T.Ks.*, f. 46b; *R.N.*, f. 303a; *T.Az.*, p. 69; *T.H.*, III, p. 152.

It is not possible to identify the village of Chandnu; Lār, however, is the ancient "Labara", see *supra*, Ch. I, p. 10.

2. *T.Ks.*, f. 46b; *A.Ab.*, f. 88a-b; *T.Az.*, p. 69; *F.K.*, f. 96b; *T.H.*, III, p. 152; *T.K.*, pp. 112-3.
3. *T.Ks.*, f. 46b; *A.Ab.*, f. 88a-b; *T.Az.*, p. 69; *F.K.*, f. 96b; *T.H.*, III, p. 152; *T.K.*, pp. 112-3.
4. This forest is in the *pargana* Bangil, the ancient "Bhangila"; cf. *R.Tk.*, II, p. 481.
5. *T.Ks.*, 46b; *R.N.*, f. 308b; *A.Ab.*, f. 88b; *T.Az.*, p. 69; *F.K.*, f. 96b; *R.Nm.*, f. 103b; *T.H.*, III, p. 152; *T.K.*, p. 113.
6. *T.H.*, III, p. 152.

Miskin gives the date of his death as 890/1485; *T.K.*, p. 113.

7. *T.Ks.*, f. 47b; *R.N.*, ff. 308b-309a; *R.Nm.*, f. 104a; *T.H.*, III, p. 152.
8. *T.Az.*, p. 72. Mullā says that he was one of the nobles of the ruler; *K.S.*, f. 43a.
9. *T.Az.*, p. 72; *T.H.*, III, p. 162; *T.K.*, p. 121. "Thākūr", according to Miskin (*T.K.*, p. 121), was the title given to the tribal chiefs. Kalhaṇa mentions at many places the title of Thākūr given to various councillors; cf. *R.Tk.*, I, pp. 292, 324.

disciples to fetch him. When he was told that Zainu'd-Dīn wanted him, he asked for clothes, came to Zainu'd-Dīn's hermitage and stayed with him for the rest of his life.¹ He lies buried at 'Aish-Maqām.²

Shamsu'd-Dīn was another disciple of Zainu'd-Dīn. Nothing is known about his early life and the circumstances of his conversion. It is said that once he sought and obtained his preceptor's leave to go to Mecca. There he met a saint, whose disciple he sought to become. The saint asked for details of Shamsu'd-Dīn's earlier spiritual life, and was told that his preceptor had been an illiterate Kashmīrī named Zainu'd-Dīn. The saint then told him to wait till next morning; during the night, Zainu'd-Dīn made his usual spiritual visit to Mecca³ and introduced himself to the saint as Shamsu'd-Dīn's preceptor. Next day the saint miraculously caused a vision of Zainu'd-Dīn at prayer to appear before Shamsu'd-Dīn. Praising his virtues, he said "Go back to Kashmīr, and serve your old master."

When Shamsu'd-Dīn returned to Kashmīr, he asked audience of Zainu'd-Dīn. The latter, who knew supernaturally of Shamsu'd-Dīn's disparaging remark about him made to the saint in Mecca, was displeased with him, and merely said : "May his foot be broken", which happened immediately, as Shamsu'd-Dīn slipped. However, other disciples of Zainu'd-Dīn interceded for Shamsu'd-Dīn and Zainu'd-Dīn was pleased to return him to his favour and to restore the use of his

1. *A.Ab.*, f. 89b; *T.Az.*, p. 72; *F.K.*, f. 96b; *T.H.*, III, p. 162; *T.K.*, p. 121.

According to Mullā, Zainu'd-Dīn once happened to meet Uttar Thākūr and was pleased with him. He prayed that Thākūr might give up worldly pleasures. Zainu'd-Dīn's prayers were answered and Uttar Thākūr gave up the world and used to roam in the forests till Zainu'd-Dīn sent some one to fetch him; *K.S.*, f. 43a-b.

2. *A.Ab.*, f. 89b; *K.S.*, f. 43b; *T.Az.*, p. 72; *F.K.*, f. 96b; *T.H.*, III, p. 162; *T.K.*, p. 121.
3. See *supra*, p. 225.

foot.¹ Shamsu'd-Din served him loyally until he died, and succeeded him as his *khalīfa* after his death.²

Another disciple of Zainu'd-Din was Ḥanifu'd-Dīn. After completing the early stages of the Rishī path, he was ordered to settle down on the mauntain of Dārā, in the *pargana* Manchahom.³ There he stayed for many years in a cave, without the knowledge of the people of the surrounding villages ; and used to eat wild vegetables for his food.⁴

It is said that once a shepherd saw Ḥanifu'd-Dīn in his cave and informed the villagers of his presence. They rushed to his cave and requested him to come out. Ḥanifu'd-Dīn appeared in the form of a strong and huge snake. The villagers were frightened, but begged him to show himself in his true form, which he did.⁵ Later he enrolled many people as his disciples and directed them to the Rishī path. When he died, he was buried on the mountain Dārā.⁶

1. *R.N.*, ff. 292b-293a; *K.S.*, f. 45a; *F.K.*, f. 96a-b; *T.H.*, III, p. 151.

2. *Ibid.*, f. 293b; *ibid.*, f. 45a; *ibid.*, f. 96b; *ibid.*, pp. 151-2.

3. *T.Ks.*, f. 44a; *R.N.*, f. 314b; *A.Ab.*, f. 91a; *T.Az.*, p. 73; *F.K.*, f. 97a; *R.Nm.*, f. 92a; *T.H.*, III, p. 154; *T.K.*, p. 116.

Mullā at one place says that he settled at Manigām in the *pargana* Lār (*K.S.*, f. 45a), and at another place at Manchahom; *K.S.*, f. 49a.

4. *T.Az.*, p. 73; *T.H.*, III, p. 154; *T.K.*, p. 116.

5. *T.Ks.*, ff. 44b-45a; *R.N.*, f. 315a-b; *A.Ab.*, f. 91a-b; *T.Az.*, p. 73; *F.K.*, f. 97a; *R.Nm.*, f. 92a-b; *T.H.*, III, p. 154; *T.K.*, p. 116.

Mullā tells the story differently. According to him a woman came to know about Ḥanifu'd-Dīn's presence there and she used often to visit him. The villagers became suspicious of her and one day they followed her and found Ḥanifu'd-Dīn's in a cave. Thinking he was a thief and had some affair with the woman, they brought him out of the cave and gave him a good beating. Later when they returned to their village, the *muqaddam* (chief) suddenly died. The villagers were convinced that they had done something wrong and that Ḥanifu'd-Dīn was in fact a holy man. They came to him and asked for pardon and for the life of their chief. Ḥanifu'd-Dīn was moved by their appeal and acceded to their request; *K.S.*, f. 45a-b.

6. *T.Ks.*, f. 45b; *R.N.*, f. 315b; *A.Ab.*, f. 91b; *T.Az.*, p. 73; *F.K.*, f. 97a; *T.H.*, III, p. 154; *T.K.*, p. 116.

Daryāu'd-Dīn, after becoming the disciple of Zainu'd-Dīn and serving him for some time, was allowed to settle down anywhere he liked. He travelled far and wide in the Valley and later settled in a cave at the village Ranyil,¹ in the *pargana* Phāk.² It is said that he observed fast throughout his life and would break it only once a week.³

The death of Daryāu'd-Dīn is described almost in the same terms as that of his preceptor, Zainu'd-Dīn. Before his death, Daryāu'd-Dīn entered his cave and asked his disciples not to disturb him for forty days. He further asked them to prepare food on the fortieth day, and told them after distributing this among the poor, they should go into the cave to see him. The disciples did accordingly and when they entered the cave, they found no trace of Daryāu'd-Dīn, except his garment and cap. Later he appeared in a dream to one of his disciples and asked him to mark a grave in his name, just above the cave.⁴

Another disciple of Zainu'd-Dīn was Lidā-Mal Rishī. Nothing is known about the circumstances of his conversion to the Rishī path. It is said that after receiving guidance from his preceptor for some time at 'Aish-Maqām, he moved to the village Uttar,⁵ where he stayed in the hollow of a *chanar* tree.⁶ But it seems that he had established a *khānqāh*

1. The sources give the name of the village as "Ranal", which cannot be identified. The only village of a similar name which can be located in the *pargana* Phāk (north of Srinagar) is Ranyil; cf. *R.Tk.*, II, p. 456.
2. *T.Ks.*, f. 45b; *R.N.*, f. 317b; *A.Ab.*, f. 87a; *T.Az.*, p. 71; *F.K.*, f. 96b; *T.H.*, III, p. 153; *T.K.*, p. 115.
3. *T.Ks.*, f. 46a; *R.N.*, f. 317b; *A.Ab.*, f. 87a-b; *F.K.*, ff. 96-97a; *T.H.*, III, p. 153; *T.K.*, p. 115.
4. *R.N.*, ff. 317b, 318a; *A.Ab.*, f. 88a; *T.Az.*, p. 71; *F.K.*, f. 97a; *T.H.*, III, p. 153; *T.K.*, p. 115.
5. The *pargana* Uttar forms the extreme north-west of the Kashmir Valley. According to Kalhana its ancient name was "Uttara"; cf. *R.Tk.*, II, p. 485.
6. *R.N.*, 318a; *A.Ab.*, f. 89a; *K.S.*, f. 46a; *F.K.*, f. 98a.

Saiyid 'Alī (*T.Ks.*, f. 47b), says the moved to Sherkoat, (the ancient "Sudarkoṭh", in between the *pargana* Khuyahom and Zaingir); cf. *R.Tk.*, II, pp. 467-88.

there, as we are told that he had as many as one hundred and sixty disciples, all of whom were engaged in agriculture.¹ Some of his recorded sayings show that Lidā-Mal was a man of great piety high thinking. He is said to have once remarked : "One is not in solitude if one thinks of a beautiful woman; one is not fasting if one waits (eagerly) throughout the day for dusk (when the fast is to be broken) ; and one is not a *darwesh* if one goes daily for easing nature (*mustarāḥ*)."²

Many springs are attributed to the miraculous power of Lidā-Mal. It is said that when he went to Uttar, there was no water nearby. He received a hint from on high to uproot a plant near the *chanar* tree, in which he is believed to have lived. He did so accordingly and water started to flow.³ It is believed that if any sick person, especially one who has stomach trouble, takes a bath in that spirit, he is cured at once.⁴

The second spring attributed to the miraculous powers of Lidā-Mal is at Dandakwan,⁵ when he moved from Uttar.⁶ There also water was not available. Lidā-Mal is said to have struck his stick into the ground and after some time to have asked one of his disciples to take it out. But he warned the disciple to be cautious, and not to let the first few drops of water fall on his feet. In spite of this warning some drops of water fell on one of the disciple's feet and he became a leper. Later Lidā-Mal prayed for him and he was cured.⁷

1. *R.N.*, f. 318a; *A.Ab.*, f. 88b; *F.K.*, f. 98a; *T.H.*, III, p. 160; *T.K.*, p. 119. According to Mattū, Lidā-Mal four hundred disciples; *R.Nm.*, f. 105a.

2. *A.Ab.*, f. 98b.

3. *R.N.*, f. 318b; *A.Ab.*, f. 89a; *K.S.*, f. 46a; *F.K.*, f. 98a; *R.Nm.*, 45a-b; *T.K.*, p. 119.

4. *R.N.*, f. 318b; *F.K.*, f. 98a.

5. Near the village of Sherkoot.

6. *R.N.*, f. 319a; *A.Ab.*, f. 89a; *F.K.*, f. 98a; *T.H.*, III, p. 121.

7. *R.N.*, f. 319b; *A.Ab.*, f. 89a; *F.K.*, f. 98a; *R.Nm.*, f. 105b; *T.H.*, III, p. 161; *T.K.*, p. 119. The legend refers to a widespread Kashmiri superstition that the first water drawn from a new well is very dangerous and should not be drunk or used for washing.

Before his death Lidā-Mal is said to have made a will that nothing should be raised over his grave, as the Almighty God would provide shelter for him. When he died, his disciples in accordance with his wish, did not build a memorial over his grave. After forty days a plant appeared on his grave, and later on covered the whole graveyard.¹ His mausoleum at Handwanpura, in *pargana* Hamal,² where he settled towards the end of his life, was built in 1149/1736, and is still a source of inspiration for many people.³

Among the disciples of Lidā-Mal the best known are Langar-Mal and his wife Bibi Ganga. It is believed that Langar-Mal was very rich and deeply involved in worldly pleasures.⁴ He is said in some sources to have been Lidā-Mal's brother. Once he came to see Lidā-Mal,⁵ dressed in a costly garment. Lidā-Mal refused to see him, saying that one who loved worldly things had nothing to do with him. Langar-Mal went back, but, moved by the remark of Lidā-Mal, gave up the world, returned to Lidā-Mal dressed as a yogi,⁶ and became his disciple.⁷

Lidā-Mal asked him to retire to seclusion, so that he could purify himself of his past sins.⁸ Meanwhile Langar-Mal's wife, Bibi Gangā, came to enquire about her husband.⁹ On

1. *T.H.*, II, p. 161; *T.K.*, p. 119.

2. The ancient "Samāla" adjoins the *pargana*, Kruhin; *R.Tk.*, II, p. 484.

3. *T.K.*, p. 119. Some other sources say that towards the end of his life he settled at Bucherwāri, which cannot be identified; *R.N.*, f. 320a; *A.Ab.*, f. 89a.

4. *R.N.*, f. 318b; *F.K.*, 98b; *R.Nm.*, f. 105b; *T.H.*, III, p. 160; *T.K.* p. 119.

5. *R.N.*, f. 318b; *R.Nm.*, f. 106a. Miskin says that Langar-Mal was a Hindu and later accepted Islam at the hands of Lidā-Mal (*T.K.*, p. 119). But Naṣīb and Mattū seem to be correct as their common surname "Mal" suggests that they were brothers.

6. *F.K.*, f. 98b.

7. *R.N.*, f. 318b; *F.K.*, f. 98b; *R.Nm.*, f. 105a; *T.H.*, III, p. 161.

8. *R.N.*, ff. 318b-319a.

9. *R.N.*, f. 319a; *F.K.*, f. 98b; *R.Nm.*, f. 100b.

Ḥasan and Miskin say that she had renounced the world along with her husband; *T.H.*, III, p. 161; *T.K.*, p. 119.

hearing that he had renounced the world, she too became Lidā-Mal's disciple.¹ Both Langar-Mal and Bibī Gangā are said to have lived a life of great piety and devotion. Langar-Mal is said to have kept the fast until he died and would break it only with ginger.² Bibī Gangā had also overpowered her worldly desires had would break the fast once a year.³ When they died, they were buried near the grave of their preceptor.⁴

One of the disciples of Zainu'd-Dīn was Shukru'd-Dīn Rishī. He came from the village of Ārat, in the *pargana* of Mānchahom.⁵ Though he is said to have been a wealthy man,⁶ he was given to religious devotion from his youth.⁷ He renounced the world and became the disciple of Zainu'd-Dīn.⁸ After completing the early stages of the Rishī path, he was asked by his master to settle down at Shankpāl, where he lived a life of recluse for many years.⁹

Like Lidā-Mal, Shukru'd-Dīn is said to have caused many springs to appear, including one at Shankpāl.¹⁰ After some time he moved to Sherkoot,¹¹ where he lived until his

1. *R.N.*, f. 319a; *F.K.*, f. 98b; *R.Nm.*, ff. 106b-107a.

2. *R.N.*, f. 319a; *F.K.*, f. 98b; *R.Nm.*, f. 106b; *T.H.*, III, p. 161, *T.K.*, p. 119.

3. *F.K.*, f. 98b; *T.H.*, III, p. 161; *T.K.*, p. 119.

4. *R.Nm.*, f. 107a; *T.H.*, III, pp. 161, 162; *T.K.*, pp. 119, 120.

5. *T.Ks.*, f. 43a; *R.N.*, f. 311b; *A.Ab.*, f. 86a; *T.Az.*, p. 71; *F.K.*, f. 97b; *R.Nm.*, f. 89a; *T.H.*, III, p. 155; *T.K.*, p. 116.

Mānchahom the ancient "Mākṣāsrāma" is to the south-west of Srinagar, and to the north of the *pargana* of Biru; cf. *R.Tk.*, II, p. 477.

6. *A.Ab.*, f. 86a; *T.Az.*, p. 71; *F.K.*, f. 97b; *T.H.*, III, p. 155; *T.K.*, p. 116.

7. *R.N.*, f. 311b; *A.Ab.*, f. 865; *K.S.*, f. 47a; *F.K.*, f. 97b; *T.H.*, III, p. 155; *T.K.* p. 116.

8. *Ibid.*

9. *T.Ks.*, f. 43a; *R.N.*, f. 311b; *A.Ab.*, f. 86a; *K.S.*, f. 47a; *F.K.*, f. 97b; *R.Nm.*, f. 89a; *T.H.*, III, p. 156; *T.K.*, p. 116.

10. *R.N.*, f. 311b; *K.S.*, f. 47a; *T.H.*, III, p. 156; *T.K.*, p. 116.

According to Mullā the spring is called "Shukrnāg", probably after Shuru'd-Dīn; *K.S.*, f. 47a.

11. Cf. n. 3, p. 250.

death.¹ Like many other Rishīs, Shukru'd-Dīn preferred to live by himself, having no concern with worldly people. It is said that before his death he had prepared a grave for himself, but one day a man who had fled from the city, took refuge in it. When Shukru'd-Dīn came to know about this, he asked his disciples not to bury him in that grave, as a worldly man had put his foot in it. When he died, his disciples prepared another grave for him.² His shrine at Sherkoot exists to this day, and it is believed by the surrounding villagers that when a misfortune is about to occur, a sound like that of a canon is heard from it.³

Shukru'd-Dīn had directed a number of people to the Rishī path, among whom are mentioned Darīya Rishī, Regī Rishī and Bibī Sangā. Darīya Rishī belonged to the village of Wattarkhanī, in the *parganā* of Uttar.⁴ He is said to have been a prominent Hindu ascetic,⁵ originally named Dhar Sādhū.⁶ Near his temple, it is said there was a spring, where one day he was seen splashing water. When asked why he was doing this, he replied that the great mosque (*Ḥamī'-masjid*) in Srīnagar, was on fire and he was trying to put it out. Some villager, who later went to the city, heard that some one was seen on the roof of the mosque trying to put out the fire.⁷

Some time after this incident, Dhar Sādhū came to see Shukru'd-Dīn, who refused to see him.⁸ Dhar Sādhū told him that they were both worshipping the same God, so why should

1. *T.Ks.*, f. 43a; *R.N.*, f. 312a; *A.Ab.*, f. 86a; *K.S.*, f. 47a., *F.K.*, 97b; *R.Nm.*, f. 89a; *T.H.*, III, p. 156, *T.K.*, p. 116.
2. *R.N.*, ff. 312b-313a; *A.Ab.*, f. 86a; *T.Az.*, pp. 71-2; *F.K.*, f. 97b; *T.H.*, III, p. 156; *T.K.*, pp. 116-7.
3. *T.H.*, III, p. 156; *T.K.*, p. 117.
4. *T.Ks.*, f. 43b.
5. *A.Ab.* f. 86b; *T.Az.*, p. 72; *F.K.*, f. 97b; *R.Nm.*, ff. 89b-90a.
6. *T.Ks.*, f. 43b; *R.N.*, f. 312a; *A.Ab.*, f. 86b; *T.Az.*, p. 72; *F.K.*, f. 97b; *R.Nm.*, f. 90a.
7. *T.Ks.*, f. 43b; *R.N.*, f. 312a; *A.Ab.*, f. 86b; *T.Az.*, p. 72; *F.K.*, f. 97b; *R.Nm.*, f. 90a.
8. *T.Ks.*, f. 43b; *A.Ab.*, f. 86b; *T.Az.*, p. 72; *F.K.*, f. 97b; *R.Nm.*, f. 90b,

Shukru'd-Dīn show such enmity. On hearing this Shukru'd-Dīn allowed him to come in and Dhar Sādhū became his disciple¹ and was named Darīya by his preceptor.² According to A'zamī,³ Darīya Rishī later entered a cave and was never seen again.

Little is known about Regī Rishī, except that he succeeded his preceptor as the head of the Rishīs at Sherkoot.⁴ From one anecdote related about his disciple Rūpī Rishī, it seems that Regī Rishī demanded of his followers the strict observance of the Rishī principles, such as abstinence from flesh. It is said that once he sent Rūpī to a certain village. Rūpī, who took some other Rishīs with him, had to cross the Wular lake. While they were in the boat some fish started jumping out of the water into a fold of his garment,⁵ and he put them back into the water. The fish repeated this many times and his companions were tempted, and they caught one fish and ate it. When they returned Regī Rishī came to know about this and he was displeased with Rūpī Rishī. He asked him to leave his abode and to take off the "Rishī dress" as he was not worthy of it.⁶ He further remarked that a Rishī is one whose exterior is compatible with his interior.⁷ When he died he was buried near his spiritual master at Sherkoot.⁸

Bībī Sangā hailed from the village of Kachalwan, in the *pargana* of Hamal.⁹ According to Naṣīb, her father, who was

1. Ibid. Naṣīb says that he became a Muslim because Shukru'd-Dīn told him that there could be no friendship between them while he was worshipping idols. Dhar Sādhū yielded and became a Muslim (*R.N.*, f. 312).

But Mishkāṭī (*A.Ab.*, f. 86b) and A'zamī (*T.Az.*, p. 72), say that it is not certain that he became a Muslim.

2. *T.H.*, III, p. 157; *T.K.*, p. 117.
3. *T.Az.*, p. 72. See also *A.Ab.*, f. 86b.
4. *R.N.*, f. 313a; *A.Ab.*, f. 86b; *T.Ks.*, f. 44a; *K.S.*, f. 49a; *T.Az.*, p. 72; *T.H.*, III, p. 157; *T.K.*, p. 117.
5. According to Naṣīb, Regī Rishī because of the cold weather had given Rūpī Rishī his own garment to wear; *R.N.*, f. 313a.
6. *R.N.*, ff. 313a-314a; *A.Ab.*, ff. 86b-87a; *K.S.*, f. 49b; *T.Az.*, p. 72; *T.H.*, III, p. 158; *R.Nm.*, f. 91a; *T.K.*, p. 117.
7. *A.Ab.*, f. 87a; *T.Az.*, p. 72.
8. *R.N.*, f. 314b; *T.Ks.*, f. 44b; *K.S.*, f. 49b; *R.Nm.*, f. 91b; *T.H.*, III, p. 158; *T.K.*, p. 117.
9. *R.N.*, f. 321b; *F.K.*, f. 97b; *T.H.*, III, p. 158; *T.K.*, p. 119,

a wealthy man, had seven daughters, all of whom renounced the world.¹ Bībī Sangā became the disciple of Shukru'd-Dīn and later settled in the forest of Āham, in the *pargana* of Khuyahom.² It is said that when people of the surrounding villages came to know about her being there, they came to her and asked her to settle in some inhabited place, as she was young and could not live alone. She replied that she had entrusted herself and her affairs to God and was afraid of no one. The people then built a cottage for her in the forest.³

Bībī Sangā is said to have been extraordinarily pious and chaste. Like other Rishis she kept fast continuously and would remain awake during the night.⁴ The fame of her piety and devotion spread far and wide and many became her disciples.⁵ She is said to have had a great herd of cattle, which were looked after by her disciples.⁶ Once one of her disciples was caught by a lion. Bībī Sangā saw it and cried out to the lion,⁷ who released her disciple at once. She then said to her disciples that this had happened because one of them had done mischief. One of the disciples confessed that he had picked up some corn somewhere and put it in her store.⁸ She remarked "What greater theft could be committed by the Rishis";⁹ thereby implying that they were expected to maintain standards of morality far higher than those of common men. When she died she was buried at Āham.¹⁰

1. *R.N.*, f. 321a.

2. *Ibid.*, f. 321a; *A.Ab.*, f. 177b; *F.K.*, f. 97b; *R.Nm.*, f. 119b; *T.H.*, III, p. 158; *T.K.*, p. 118.

3. *R.N.*, f. 321a-b.

4. *R.N.*, f. 321b; *F.K.*, f. 97b; *T.H.*, III, p. 158; *T.K.*, pp. 117-8.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*

7. This is the literal translation of the word *sher*. Lions have rarely if ever been attested in Kashmir in recent times, and the word is commonly used in Kashmiri to mean any large carnivorous animal such as a tiger or leopard.

8. *F.K.*, f. 97b; *T.H.*, III, p. 158; *T.K.*, p. 118.

Naṣīb says that one of her disciples admitted that he had used tar without her permission; *R.N.*, ff. 321b-322a.

9. *T.K.*, p. 158.

10. *R.N.*, f. 322a; *F.K.*, f. 97b; *T.H.*, III, p. 158; *T.K.*, p. 118.

Bibi Sangā was succeeded by her prominent disciple, Neki Rishī,¹ who distributed all her property including the cattle among the poor, believing that worldly things might distract his attention from God.² It is said that once a beggar came to him for alms. Neki Rishī had nothing to offer him, but instead of saying 'no' to him, he gave him his own garment and wrapped himself in an old mat.³

One of the miracles attributed to Neki Rishī is that once some robbers came to his hermitage and carried him and his disciples away with them. Before they reached their destination, Neki Rishī prayed and they all became blind. Realising that he was a holy man, they asked for his pardon. Neki Rishī asked them to accompany him to the grave of his preceptor, where he prayed and they got their sight back, after they made a vow not to sin any more.⁴

Before his death, Neki Rishī is believed to have prepared a grave for himself, and after performing the normal funeral rituals, he entered it and died.⁵ The charge of his disciples was taken by Naurūz Rishī,⁶ who came from the *pargana* Khuyahom.⁷ Before entering the discipleship of Neki Rishī, he was a man of property and was known by the name of Naurūz Mīr. It is said that he was known for his cruelty and

1. *R.N.*, f. 322a; *A.Ab.*, f. 177b; *F.K.*, f. 98a; *T.H.*, III, p. 159; *T.K.*, p. 119.

Mullā (*K.S.*, f. 47b) says that he was the disciple of Shukru'd-Dīn.

2. *R.N.*, f. 322a-b; *A.Ab.*, f. 177b; *F.K.*, f. 96a; *R.Nm.*, ff. 119b-120a; *T.H.*, III, p. 159; *T.K.*, p. 158.

3. *A.Ab.*, f. 177b; *R.Nm.*, f. 120a. Naṣīb says that the beggar did not accept his garment because he did not consider himself worthy of it; *R.N.*, f. 322b.

4. *R.N.*, f. 323a. Mullā (*K.S.*, f. 48a) says that Neki Rishī asked them to return all that they had stolen and then he would pray for their sight to be restored. Wabhāb says that it was army from Tibet, which destroyed his hermitage and took him as a captive; *F.K.*, f. 98a.

5. *R.N.*, ff. 323b-324a; *K.S.*, f. 48a; *F.K.*, f. 98a; *T.H.*, III, p. 159; *T.K.*, p. 118.

6. *R.N.*, f. 324a; *A.Ab.*, f. 178a; *F.K.*, f. 98a; *R.Nm.*, f. 120b; *T.H.*, III, p. 159; *T.K.*, p. 119.

7. *R.N.*, f. 359a.

uncompromising nature ; and whenever government tax collectors failed to extract revenue from the peasants, he was entrusted with the task.¹ Once he happened to pass by the hermitage of Nekī Rishī, who was feeding the cattle at the time. One of the animal took the share of another besides his own. Nekī Rishī rebuked him and remarked : “You too have become like Naurūz Mīr that you oppress the weak and poor”. Naurūz on hearing this renounced the world and became the disciple of Nekī Rishī.²

It is said that Nekī Rishī in order to test Naurūz and to crush his pride, asked him to bring him something to eat bought from his lawful earnings. Naurūz went to his own village and worked there as a labourer, and later, from the money he earned, he bought bread for Nekī Rishī, who was pleased with him and directed him on the Rishī path.³ After his death, he was buried in the vicinity of the mausoleum of Bibī Sangā.⁴

Disciples of Latīfu'd-Dīn

Among the disciples of Latīfu'd-Dīn the best known were Pīrbāz, Ladi Katūr, Lachham, Ladi Ganā'ī, and Nūrī Rishī. Pīrbāz, who came from the viliage of Rāzwan, in the *pargana* of Achhā;⁵ was only twelve years old when he came under the influence of Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn.⁶ When Latīf was told by the Shaikh to migrate to Uttar, Pīrbāz was entrusted to him, and was under his guidance for many years. Later he settled at

1. *R.N.*, f. 359a; *A.Ab.*, f. 178a; *F.K.*, f. 98a; *R.Nm.*, f. 120b; *T.H.*, III, p. 159; *T.K.*, p. 118.

2. *A.Ab.*, f. 178a; *R.Nm.*, ff. 120b-121a; *T.H.*, III, p. 159; *T.K.*, p. 118.

Naşīb says that he came intentionally to Nekī and became his disciple (*R.N.*, f. 359a). Wāhhāb believes that Nekī slapped the animal who had taken the other's share and Naurūz, impressed at this, renounced the world and became Nekī's disciple; *F.K.*, f. 98a.

3. *R.N.*, f. 360a; *A.Ab.*, f. 178a; *T.H.*, III, p. 160; *R.Nm.*, f. 121b.

4. *R.N.*, f. 360b; *F.K.*, f. 98a; *T.H.*, III, p. 160; *T.K.*, p. 119.

5. *R.N.*, f. 324a; *F.K.*, f. 99a; *T.H.*, III, p. 163; *T.K.*, p. 121.

The *pargana* Achhā is to the south of Srīnagar.

6. *R.N.*, f. 324a; *A.Ab.*, f. 91b; *T.Az.*, p. 70; *T.K.*, p. 121.

Jutarpāl.¹ After some time he again came back to Uttar at the request of the people of that village,² probably when Latīfu'd-Dīn went to Poskar.

It is said that two of his disciples did not accompany him to Uttar as they told him that the Rishī path demanded complete retirement from the world and they would have nothing to do with worldly people. Next morning when they got up they found that they had lost their beards. Believing this to be due to the curse of their preceptor, they hurried to him and asked for his pardon, which was granted.³

Pīrbāz gave himself up to severe penances and, as already pointed out, did not eat any kind of green vegetable for the reasons he offered to Latīfu'd-Dīn.⁴ When he died he was buried at Uttar.⁵

Nothing is known about the early life of Ladī Katūr and the circumstances of his conversion. It is said that he controlled his selfish desires to the extreme limit, and in order to crush them, he used to take ashes with water for his food, and no one except his preceptor was aware of this. One day when Latīfu'd-Dīn was praising him for his austere penances, a certain Rishī, feeling jealous, accused Ladī Katūr of secretly drinking milk, for the water when mixed with ashes would be rather the colour of milk. Latīfu'd-Dīn told that Rishī that when Ladī broke his fast he should take the cup from him and taste it. The Rishī did so and was ashamed when he found that it contained water mixed with ashes.⁶

1. *R.N.*, f. 325b; *A.Ab.*, f. 92b; *T.Az.*, p. 70; *F.K.*, f. 99a; *T.H.*, III, p. 164; *T.K.*, p. 121.

It is not possible to identify Jutarpāl, but according to Wabhāb and Ḥasan, it is in the vicinity of Uttar; *F.K.*, f. 99a; *T.H.*, III, p. 164.

2. *R.N.*, f. 325b; *A.Ab.*, f. 92b; *F.K.*, f. 99a; *T.H.*, III, p. 164; *T.K.*, p. 121.

3. *R.N.*, f. 325b; *F.K.*, f. 99a; *T.H.*, III, p. 165; *T.K.*, p. 121.

4. See supra p. 227.

5. *R.N.*, f. 325b; *F.K.*, f. 99a; *T.H.*, III, p. 165; *T.K.*, p. 121.

6. *R.N.*, f. 326b; *F.K.*, f. 99b; *T.H.*, III, p. 166; cf. supra, pp. 229-30.

Mishkāṭī and Miskīn do not mention the story, but say that he habitually drank water mixed with ashes and salt; *A.Ab.*, f. 94a; *T.K.*, p. 122.

It is said that once a rich person named Ladī Kachū, from the village of Chachihōm, in the *pargana* of Zaingīr,¹ came to Latīfu'd-Dīn and told him that he would like to adopt a Rishī as he had no child of his own. Latīfu'd-Dīn remarked that Rishīs were not sheep and he could not give him one. However, when Ladī Kachū insisted, Latīfu'd-Dīn promised him that his request would be met after some time. One day Latīfu'd-Dīn sent Ladī Katūr to the village of Chachihōm for some other purpose and he stayed with Ladī Kachū, who thought that he was sent by Latīfu'd-Dīn according to his promise. Next morning, when Ladī Katūr got up, he found the door locked on the outside. He knocked at the door, but Ladī Kachū told him that he would allow him to come out only after he made the promise that he would stay there for ever. Ladī Katūr, fearing he might miss his prayers, promised to do so. Later he sent a message to his preceptor informing him what had happened. Latīfu'd-Dīn then asked him to stay there, as thus both would fulfil their promises.² Thus Ladī Katūr spent the rest of his life in the house of Ladī Kachū and when he died he was buried at the village of Chachihom.³

Lacham Rishī also known as Najm Rishī,⁴ became the guide of the Rishīs at Poskar after the death of his preceptor.⁵ Nothing is known about his activities except that he used to keep vigil throughout the night and kept fast continuously.⁶ When he died he was buried near the tomb of Latīfu'd-Dīn at Poskar.⁷

Ladī Ganā'ī had sought permission from Latīfu'd-Dīn to settle down at Jutarpāl⁸ but used often to come to see his

1. It received its present name from Zainu'l-Ābidīn and is situated seven miles to the north-east of Sopur.

2. *R.N.*, ff. 331a-332a; *F.K.*, f. 99b; *T.H.*, III, p. 166; *T.K.*, p. 122.

3. *Ibid.*, f. 332b; *ibid.*, f. 99b; *ibid.*, p. 166; *ibid.*, p. 122.

4. *T.K.*, p. 123.

5. *R.N.*, f. 327b; *F.K.*, f. 100a; *T.H.*, III, p. 168; *T.K.*, p. 123.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *R.N.*, f. 328a; *F.K.*, f. 100a; *T.H.*, III, p. 169; *T.K.*, p. 123.

8. *R.N.*, f. 325b; *A.Ab.*, f. 93a; *K.S.*, f. 40b; *F.K.*, f. 99b; *T.H.*, III, p. 165; *R.Nm.*, f. 110b.

preceptor at Poskar.¹ On one such visit, while he was at Poskar, he died. Before his death he made a will that he should be buried at Jutarpāl. Owing to heavy snowfall and rain, he was buried at Poskar ; but next day his grave was found wide open and the corpse missing. When Latīfu'd-Dīn was informed of this he told the Rishīs that Ladī's body would be found at Jutarpāl. When they went there they found the corpse and buried it.²

The most distinguished disciple of Latīfu'd-Dīn was Nūrī Rishī.³ He came from the village of Lulīpora, in the *pargana* of Biru,⁴ and is believed to have been a man of great intelligence and piety.⁵ After serving his master for some years he was asked to settle down at his native place.⁶

Nūrī Rishī was one of the few Rishīs who eked out their living by cultivating the land. He also planted the fruit bearing trees ; and was a source of benefit to the poor.⁷ It is said that he used to perform Friday prayers at the village Sikandar-pura (Singhpura) and after the prayers would distribute food, prepared by himself, to the poor.⁸

Many miracles are attributed to Nūrī Rishī.⁹ Once while he was away his disciple Jandī Rishī¹⁰ died. His other disciples, thinking that Nūrī might not come for some days,

1. Ibid.

2. *R.N.*, f. 326a-b; *A.Ab.*, f. 93b; *K.S.*, f. 40b; *F.K.*, f. 99b; *R.Nm.*, f. 111a; *T.H.*, III, pp. 165-6.

3. Ḥasan and Miskīn call him Naurūz Rishī, but while describing the life of Bahrām Rishī, one of his disciples, they call him Nūrī Rishī; *T.H.*, III, p. 167; *T.K.*, p. 122.

4. *K.S.*, f. 41a; *F.K.*, f. 99b; *T.H.*, III, p. 167.

5. *R.N.*, f. 329a; *A.Ab.*, f. 95a; *K.S.*, f. 41a; *F.K.*, f. 99b; *T.H.*, III, p. 167; *T.K.*, p. 122.

6. *K.S.*, f. 41a; *T.H.*, III, p. 167. See also *A.Ab.*, f. 95a.

7. *R.N.*, f. 329a; *A.Ab.*, f. 94b; *F.K.*, f. 99b; *T.H.*, III, p. 167; *T.K.*, p. 122.

8. *R.N.*, f. 330a; *A.Ab.*, f. 95a; *K.S.*, f. 41a; *F.K.*, f. 100a; *T.H.*, III, p. 167; *T.K.*, p. 123.

9. Cf. *R.N.*, f. 329a, b; *A.Ab.*, f. 95a; *K.S.*, f. 41a; *F.K.*, ff. 99b, 100a; *T.H.*, III, p. 167; *T.K.*, p. 122.

10. Wahhāb calls him Ḥaidar; *F.K.*, f. 99b.

decided to bury Jandī's body. But to their surprise they found every pot in the house full of snakes and could not give it a funeral bath. Meanwhile Nūrī Rishī arrived and they told him of this. He replied that this had happened because he had come to know spiritually of Jandī's death and wanted personally to give him the funeral bath.¹

When Nūrī Rishī died he was buried at Lulīpura.² Mishkāī says that once he and Bābā Naṣīb, the author of Rishī-Nāmā, were at Lulīpura and the servant made the bed in such a way that their feet pointed towards the tomb of Nūrī Rishī. Bābā Naṣīb, called the servant and asked him to change the direction of the bed. Some one there remarked that it did not matter because he was a learned man and the Rishīs were not, the implication being that the Bābā was far superior to the Rishīs, however pious they might be. The Bābā replied that the *'ulamā-i-zāhīr* were no comparison to this group of Rishīs.³

Nothing is known about the disciples of Nūrī Rishī except Bahrām Rishī who is mentioned in an anecdote about Nūrī Rishī. It is said that Bahrām Rishī was given the task of looking after the garden of Nūrī Rishī. One Friday, when Nūrī was going to offer prayers, he asked Bahrām to be on the lookout lest birds spoiled the fruits in his garden. Bahrām thought deeply and came to the conclusion that by the garden his preceptor meant his fleshy body, and to be alert was to cleanse the self from impurities, and the birds signified "women"; so rather than to live under the apprehension of lustful desires he mutilated himself.⁴ While he was doing this, Nūrī Rishī cried out in the mosque. The people there thought that perhaps the *imām* had made some mistake. Nūrī hurried back to his hermitage and found Bahrām unconscious; he recovered when Nūrī Rishī carried him on his shoulders.⁵

1. K.S., f. 41a; F.K., f. 99b; T.H., III, p. 167; T.K., p. 123.

2. A.Ab., f. 95a; K.S., f. 41a; F.K., f. 100a; T.H., III, p. 167; T.K., p. 122.

3. A.Ab., f. 95a.

4. Cf. supra, p. 237.

5. R.N., ff. 330b-331a; A.Ab., f. 95a-b; F.K., f. 100a; T.H., III, p. 168; T.K., p. 123.

Disciples of Naṣru'd-Dīn

Malik Jogī Raina, whom Naṣru'd-Dīn appointed his *khalīfa* at the instance of Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn,¹ earned his livelihood by cultivating the land² and urged his disciples to live like cultivators.³ When he died he was buried near the mausoleum of his preceptor.⁴

Another disciple of Naṣru'd-Dīn, Lolī Rishī, came from the village of Chaku, in the *pargana* of Adavin.⁵ It is said that he was squint-eyed and had crooked feet, and when he married his wife, on seeing him, laughed at his physical disabilities. Lolī was disappointed at the attitude of his wife, so he divorced her,⁶ and went on pilgrimage.⁷ It was there that one day he received a message from on high that he should return to Kashmīr and there seek guidance from Naṣru'd-Dīn. He immediately returned and enrolled himself as one of the disciples of Naṣru'd-Dīn, with whom he remained until the latter died.⁸

Among the disciples of Lolī Rishī are mentioned Rūbī

1. See supra, p. 232.

2. *T.H.*, III, p. 170; *T.K.*, p. 114.

Mishkāti and Wahhāb say that he followed some other profession; *A.Ab.*, f. 81b; *F.K.*, f. 101a.

3. *T.H.*, III, p. 170; *T.K.*, p. 114.

4. *F.K.*, f. 101a; *T.H.*, III, p. 170; *T.K.*, p. 114.

5. *T.Ks.*, f. 42a; *R.N.*, f. 309b; *A.Ab.*, f. 96a; *T.Az.*, p. 72; *F.K.*, f. 101b; *T.K.*, p. 123.

6. *T.Ks.*, f. 42a; *T.Az.*, p. 72; *T.H.*, III, pp. 171-2.

Some sources (*R.N.*, f. 310a; *F.K.*, f. 101b; *R.Nm.*, f. 115b), say that when the *nikāh* ceremony was being held, the girl on seeing Lolī, laughed and refused to marry him. But in Kashmīr even today marriages are arranged and it is very rarely that bride and bridegroom are both present, face to face, at the *nikāh* ceremony.

7. *T.Ks.*, f. 42a; *R.N.*, f. 310a; *T.Az.*, p. 72; *F.K.*, f. 101b; *R.Nm.*, f. 116a; *T.H.*, III, p. 172.

Miskāti does not mention anything about his marriage, but says that he went on the pilgrimage; *A.Ab.*, f. 96a.

8. *T.Ks.*, f. 42a-b; *R.N.*, f. 310a; *A.Ab.*, f. 96a; *T.Az.*, p. 72; *F.K.*, f. 101b; *R.Nm.*, f. 116a; *T.H.*, III, p. 172.

and Zainū,¹ the two brothers, who originally belonged to the village of Lajura, in the *pargana* of Chirāt.² Both of them are said to have been pious and chaste from their early youth.³ Rūbī⁴ is said to have been killed by an army of Kashghar,⁵ which invaded Kashmir.⁶ Zainū succeeded Lolī, after his death.⁷

Many miracles are attributed to Zainū Rishī.⁸ Once he sent one of his disciples to Thana⁹ to fetch salt. While his disciple was returning, he slipped at Pīr-Panjāl and in anger abused his guide. Zainū Rishī miraculously appeared there, his face covered, and helped the disciple. When the latter reached Kashmir, Zainū asked him why had he abused him? The disciple was surprised that he knew about it, but Zainū told him that it was he who gave him a helping hand. The disciple asked his pardon, which was granted.¹⁰ When Zainū Rishī died, he was buried beside Lolī Rishī at Chrār.¹¹

Zainū Rishī is said to have had many disciples¹² including Gangī Rishī and Mirī Rishī,¹³ but we are told nothing about their activities.

1. Ḥasan gives their names Ripur and Rīpī (*T.H.*, III, p. 172), and Miskīn, Ranbur and Ribī and says that the latter was also called Ruknu'd-Dīn; *T.K.*, p. 124.
2. *R.N.*, f. 301a, b; *A.Ab.*, f. 96a-b; *K.S.*, f. 73b; *F.K.*, 101b.
3. *Ibid.*, *T.H.*, III, p. 172.
4. Wāhhāb and Mattū say Zainū was killed; *F.K.*, f. 102a; *R.Nm.*, ff. 116b-117a.
5. Perhaps the sources refer to Mirzā Ḥaidar's invasion, who came with the army of Kashghar in 1532.
6. *A.Ab.*, f. 96b; *R.N.*, f. 310b. It is said that the horse of Lolī once fled and Rūbī went to search, but was caught by the Kashghar army. Rūbī raised his hands to pray to the Almighty for his release, but the army thought he prayed for their destruction and in anger put him to death.
7. *R.N.*, f. 311a; *A.Ab.*, f. 96b; *K.S.*, f. 37b.
8. Cf. *ibid.*, f. 311a; *ibid.*, f. 96b; *ibid.*, f. 38a.
9. In the vicinity of the Punch Valley.
10. *R.N.*, f. 311a; *A.Ab.*, f. 96b; *K.S.*, f. 38a.
11. *Ibid.*
12. *R.N.*, f. 311a; *A.Ab.*, f. 96b.
13. *A.Ab.*, f. 96b.

The above account of the disciples of Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn and their followers, shows that the four main centres of their activities were at Bamuzu, 'Aish-Maqām, Paskor and Chrār. From these centres the Rishī teachings spread to other parts of the Valley. The order continued to flourish in the reigns of Akbar (1556-1605) and Jahāngīr (1605-1627). Both Abū'l-Fazl¹ and Jahāngīr² noticed as many as two thousand Rishīs in Kashmir. Although the custodians of the tombs of these Rishīs saints still call themselves Rishī saints, they do not lead the ascetic and celibate life of their famous predecessors.

Rishī Practices and Philosophy

The Rishīs' practices and philosophy of life differed in many ways from those of the other Muslim saints of Kashmir. In fact the peculiarity of their way of life and thinking attracted the attention of many chroniclers and hagiologists to define their identity. Thus Abū'l-Fazl writes : "The most respected class of people in this country (Kashmīr) are the Rishīs.³ Although they have not abandoned the traditional and customary forms of worship (*taqlīd*), but they are true in their worship. They do not denounce men belonging to different faiths. They do not have the tongue of desire, and do not seek to obtain worldly objects. They plant fruit-bearing trees in order that people may obtain benefit from these. They abstain from meat and do not marry"⁴.

Jahāngīr corroborates Abū'l-Fazl. He says : "Although they have not acquired learning and *ma'rifa*, they live a frank and unostentatious life. They criticize nobody and ask for nothing from anyone. They neither eat meat nor marry. They always plant fruit-bearing trees in uninhabited parts, so that people may be benefited by them. But they themselves do no

1. A.A., II, p. 170.

2. *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 302.

3. The published text has "Brahmans", which does not fit the context and is probably an emendation by a copyist who did not know the word *rishī*, which occurs in the manuscript copy used by Rogers. Cf. *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Eng. tr. Rogers, II, p. 149, n. 4.

4. A.A., II, p. 170.

hope to reap any advantages from these trees".¹

The Kashmirī hagiologists also extol the asceticism and unworldly life which the Rishis led. Bābā Dāwud Khākī writes that a Rishi is one who is an ascetic, is disciplined, and leads a life different from other saints. He is free from all worldly pleasures.² Bābā Naṣīb, describing the Rishis' way of life in a long poem, says that they are gracious to the pious and are men of pure heart. Their presence has turned Kashmīr into a heaven. Cutting themselves away from all worldly relationship, they neither marry nor bother themselves with a family life. Piety is their *khirqa*; their nights are devoted to worship and during the day they fast incessantly. Having abandoned all worldly desires they have succeeded in controlling their carnal lusts.³

Bābā Dāwud Mishkāṭī, endorsing the earlier hagiologists, compares the way of Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn's life with the celebrated mystic of Islam, Ḥasan al-Baṣrī.⁴ 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb identifies a Rishi as one who is pious, an ascetic and recluse. Having abandoned worldly desires, he is devoted to piety and asceticism. He strives to purify his carnal self, to cleanse his heart and to illuminate his soul.⁵

According to Bahāu'd-Dīn Mattū, the Rishis of Kashmīr were famous for their devotion to Divine unity, and for killing their carnal desires. Although they retire to caves, they illuminate them with the light of their spiritual attainment. Having abandoned the society of mankind, they do not even bother about food or sleep. They eat bitter greens (*upalhāk*) and when others sleep they busy themselves with meditation upon God.⁶

The testimony of both Kashmirī and non-Kashmirī sources leave us with no doubt that the piety and asceticism of the Rishis has left a deep imprint upon the minds of the Kashmiris

1. *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 302.

2. *Rishi-Nāmā*, ff. 8b-9a, 66b.

3. *R.N.*, f. 127a-b.

4. *A.Ab.*, ff. 54b-55a.

5. *F.K.*, 82b.

6. *R.Nm.*, f. 10a-b.

and others who came into contact with them.¹

The anecdotes relating to the Rishīs tend to indicate that, during the period under review, their way of life passed through two marked stages, although these stages are not mutually exclusive. In the first stage they confined themselves to the life of asceticism and meditation in lonely places. In the second stage some of them, such as Nandī Rishī,² accepted gifts in the form of land for the sake of obtaining a comfortable living for their future followers. This group seems to have devoted themselves to planting trees and otherwise serving the people disinterestedly and dispassionately.

Unlike the other Muslim saints of Kashmīr, they did not concern themselves with preaching and teaching the faith of Islam.³ Nor were they eager to bring the nobles or rulers under their influence.⁴ They generally did not bother themselves with acquiring theological knowledge and were not interested in discussions and debates.⁵ Nūru'd-Dīn was not ashamed to admit that he had not acquired formal knowledge of religion and wished to do penance for this sin of omission.⁶

It is most likely that their meditation was based mainly on the *pas-i-anfās* ("watching of breath"), which the Ṣūfīs had adopted from the times of Bīyazīd.⁷ In the Indian environment the *prāṇayāma* or control of the breath, as practised by the Nātha yogīs, had greatly developed.⁸ It did not demand any

1. Cf. *A.N.*, III, p. 549.

2. See *supra*, p. 242.

3. Cf. *supra*, p. 218, Nūru'd-Dīn's statement.

4. Cf. *supra*, p. 219.

5. Cf. *Khāikī, Rishī-Nāmā*, ff. 9a, 76b. See also *supra*, pp. 233-4, 247, 266.

6. It is said that once one Maulānā Mānak came to Nūru'd-Dīn and began to reproach him for being illiterate. Nūru'd-Dīn pleaded guilty, declaring that he had really wasted his life in ignorance, and that he had become a recluse so that he might do penance for his sins. *R.N.*, ff. 172b-73a.

7. Cf. Rizvī, "Ṣūfīs and Natha Yogis in Medieval Northern India", *The Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia*, VII, December 1970, p. 129.

8. *Ibid.*

religious or theological knowledge, but was mainly based on the techniques of meditation which were current among the Śaivite yogis of Kashmir. All they seem to have added to the Nātha yogic framework was the name of Allāh or *huwa*.

The thought that essentially underlines the Rishis' philosophy is the control of carnal desires. They considered carnal desires as their enemy and maintained that they should be controlled and crushed at all costs. In pursuit of this goal every kind of physical hardship was imposed and accepted.¹ The following anecdote well represents the high value the Rishis placed upon the subjugation of the baser instincts. It is said that Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn, once hearing a man boasting that he had killed his enemy, approached him and said: "May the blessings of God be upon you for killing your enemy and destroying him. I have long been trying to destroy my enemy but in vain. Whom did you kill?" "O, one of my relatives," replied the man. Nūru'd-Dīn took a deep sigh and remarked: "I thought you had killed your true enemy, your *nafs* (carnal self)".²

The Rishi attitude towards marriage and family life was similarly conditioned by the desire to achieve a very high standard of asceticism. If a man, before becoming a Rishi, was married, he abandoned his wife, children and other relations. The Rishis thought that women are a great hindrance to their pursuit of perfection.³ It is said that Saiyid Ḥājī Murād,⁴ a Kubravi saint, was, very friendly with a Rishi, but when he told his Rishi friend about his intention to marry, the latter disapprovingly remarked that the married life was not at all compatible with the life of a saint. And when Saiyid Murād married the Rishi ceased to visit him.⁵

The Rishi dress and diet equally reflected their philosophy of controlling the carnal desires. Their dress was simple, often

1. Cf. *supra*, pp. 218-9, 222, 262.

2. *R.N.*, f. 151a.

3. Cf. *supra*, pp. 237, 266-7.

4. See for his biography, *supra*, pp. 143-4.

5. *A.Ab.*, f. 100b; *T.H.*, III, p. 41.

consisting of no more than mats of split reed. Some of them even used to wear the yogī dress.¹ Their diet was strictly vegetarian. Rūpī Rishī was asked by his preceptor, Regī Rishī, to leave his abode, because Rūpī had allowed another Rishī to eat fish.² Generally they used to eat wild vegetables, especially *upalhāk*, which grows in abundance in Kashmīr and is bitter in taste.

They believed that even fresh grass was endowed with life and some of them, as we have seen, abstained even from eating fresh vegetables.³ Nūru'd-Dīn is also said to have given up walking on green grass.⁴ The Rishī doctrine of not harming others seems to have been very well known in Kashmīr. It is said that Payāmu'd-Dīn Rishī, before entering the Rishī path, was once journeying on horseback. On the road he abruptly came to a halt. When questioned by his servant as to the reason, he replied : "The ants are moving on the path, and they might be destroyed". The servant remarked : "It seems you will become a Rishī"⁵

The foregoing discussion clearly shows that the Rishīs' ascetic habits, their renunciation of the world and abstinence from flesh to such a degree, rather resembled the ways of Hindu ascetics and Buddhist monks than of the Ṣūfis. Some of the Ṣūfis did not marry at all and avoided eating meat. But those who immigrated to Kashmīr from Persia and Central Asia lived a normal life. They entered the government service and organised *khānqāh* life on the Irānian pattern. This made the Rishīs' way of life seem preposterous in their eyes. Some of them were horrified at Rishī practices and accused them of violating the laws of *sharī'a* and *sunna*.⁶

It is said that when Mīr Muḥammad Hamadānī visited Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn, he asked him the reason for his not eating

1. See supra, pp. 243, 253.

2. See supra, pp. 256-7.

3. See supra, pp. 227, 262.

4. *R.N.*, ff. 151b-152a; *A.Ab.*, f. 46a.

5. *R.N.*, f. 308a; *R.Nm.*, f. 103a-b.

6. Cf. *Khāki*, *Rishī-Nāmā*, f. 77a; *T.H.*, III, pp. 134-5,

meat when the *shari'a* permitted it. Nūru'd-Dīn countered this question with a simple answer : "In our religion cruelty is prohibited, therefore killing is not allowed".¹ Similarly Bābā Dāwud Mishkāṭī, himself a distinguished Kubravī, saint of the seventeenth century, observed that many Rishī practices such as taking ashes for food were incompatible with the laws of religion.² But for several centuries the Rishīs did not give up their ascetic habits and were criticised from time to time by the orthodox.³

Causes of Differences between the Rishīs and other Kashmīr Sūfis

The reasons for the differences in approach to religious and social questions between the Rishīs and other Kashmīrī Sūfis are rooted in the past history of Sufism. Sufism, from the times of Abu Sa'īd bin Abu'l-Khair down to the rise of Shaikh 'Alā'u'd-Daula Simnānī to prominence, exhibits two different attitudes towards life : the Sūfī as an ascetic and the Sūfī as a missionary. In India, too, the Chishtīs in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries preferred to lead a life of asceticism and encouraged their disciples to lead a pious and moral life.⁴ The Suhrawardīs on the other hand, although they did not ignore piety and ethical values, took part in politics and tried to make reforms in Muslim society through official channels.⁵

As has already been pointed out, the Sūfis of Irān who influenced orthodoxy in Kashmīr belonged to the school of 'Ala'u'd-Daula Simnānī, and thus found themselves duty-bound to missionary activity. As foreigners, they had neither local sympathies nor knowledge of the society and way of life of Kashmīrīs. The Rishīs, on the other hand, were children of the soil, and though converted to Islam were sympathetic to the mystic traditions of the country. With no knowledge of

1. *A.Ab.*, f. 236a-b.

2. *Ibid.*, f. 72a.

3. Cf. *supra*, p. 273.

4. Cf. Rizvi, *Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, p. 17ff.

5. Cf. *infra*, p. 278, n. 2.

Arabic and Persian, or with little acquaintance with them, they drew their inspiration from the local environment .

The political activities of the immigrant Ṣūfīs and their Kashmīrī followers appeared to the Rishīs essentially contradictory to Sufism as they understood it. Their concept of sufism was fundamentally identical with the traditions which had long been known and accepted in Kashmīr through the practices of Hindu and Buddhist mystics.

The two different attitudes thus made their paths different. With such a difference in basic assumptions, it was inevitable that conflict between two opposing attitudes should become a latent ingredient of the Kashmīrī social pattern.

Even in the second stage of their development, when the Rishīs began to accept gifts of land and other earthly favours, they generally concentrated their efforts upon serving the cause of mankind in general and not Muslims alone. Thus the difference in the attitude of Rishīs and other Ṣūfīs towards all the religious and social problems made them different from each other.

CHAPTER VIII

THE IMPACT OF SUFISM

From the reign of Sultān Qutbu'd-Dīn an increasing number of Muslim scholars and saints were attracted to Kashmīr because of the patronage offered by the succeeding Sultāns.¹ The Naqshbandī and Qādirī saints were few in number, and it was left to the Suhrawardī and Kubravī saints to make the influence of their teachings and practices felt upon the political, religious and social developments in the country.

The tradition of mixing with the rulers and taking part in political affairs was established by the early Suhrawardī² and Kubravī³ saints. They believed that by associating themselves with royal courts, they could change the outlook of rulers.

These traditions determined the attitude of the Suhrawardī and Kubravī saints of Kashmīr. Besides occupying religious positions such as that of *qāzī* and *Shaikhu'l-Islam*, some of them held high posts in the administration, including that of *wazīr*, and they also served as ambassadors.⁴ They visited the nobles and the royal court; established matrimonial alliances with leading nobles and the ruling house. They

1. "Many Yavanas", Jonarāja writes, "left other sovereigns and took shelter under this king [Sultān Sikandar] who was renowned for charity, even as bees leave the flowers and settle on elephants." *R.Tj.*, p. 57.
2. The Suhrawardī attitude towards the princes may be judged by the fact that Shaikh Shihābu'd-Dīn Suhrawardī had dedicated two of his works to the Caliph Al-Naṣīr (575-622/1180-1255). Cf. *Encyclopedia of Islam*, IV, p. 506. Shaikh Bahāu'd-Dīn Zakariyā (d. 1262), one of the disciples of Shaikh Shihābu'd-Dīn Suhrawardī, who lived in Multān, supported Iltutmish (1210-36) in extending his political prestige and authority in the country—*Siyāru'l-ʿArifīn*, pp. 112-13.
3. Cf. *supra*, pp. 36, 38. See also *Tazkiratu'l-Shu'arā*, p. 281.
4. See *supra*, pp. 141, 145-6.

dabbled in politics and on many occasions were exiled from the country.¹

As already pointed out, the population of the country was predominantly Hindu; therefore concord between Muslims and non-Muslims was an urgent political necessity. Sultān Qutbu'd-Dīn, realising this, declined to allow religious considerations to affect his conduct of state. He refused to associate himself with the activities of Saiyid 'Alī, much to the Saiyid's resentment.²

But the influence of the Ṣūfīs on the politics of Kashmir became very pronounced during the reign of Sultān Sikandar, who had a profound love and veneration for saints and divines.³ It was during his reign, under the influence of Mīr Muḥammad, that the interests of the state were confused with the demands of orthodox Islam.⁴ Mīr Muḥammad's influence on the state policy may be measured by the fact that he had any person whom he thought dangerous to his orthodox policy arrested.⁵

After Sikandar, 'Alī Shāh (1413-20) came to the throne. He was also of a religious bent of mind and even decided to give up the throne in order to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca.⁶ During his reign non-Muslims were again subjected to harassment because of Sūha Bhaṭṭa,⁷ who had accepted Islam through Mīr Muḥammad.

Although Zainu'l-Ābidīn (1420-70) showed great regard

1. See supra, pp. 146, 149.

2. Cf. supra, p. 49.

3. Jonarāja writes : "It was perhaps owing to the sins of the subjects that the king [Sikandar] had a fondness for the Yavanas..." *R.Tj.*, p. 57.

4. See supra, pp. 134ff...

5. "The Brahmanas, the supporters of the world," writes Jonarāja, "had taken refuge of Ratnākara in order to preserve their party, and this little Brahmana, became the favourite of Sūhabhaṭṭa. But Malānod-dīna [Muḥammad Hamadānī], the great guru of Yavanas, feared that Ratnākara would rise in rebellion and caused him to be arrested." *R.Tj.*, pp. 67-68.

6. Ibid., p. 71; *T.Ks.*, f. 15a.

7. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 68-69.

for both the Sūfis and the 'ulamā,¹ he prevented their interference in the administration of the country. He was conscious that the government needed a broader base of support, so he set about winning the confidence and co-operation of every possible element of the population. Jonarāja writes: "As the lion does not attack other animals in the peaceful hermitage of saints, so the Turuṣkas, who were much alarmed, did not oppress the Brahmanas as they had done before."² But this religious tolerance of Zainu'l-Ābidīn did not appeal to the orthodox, who held that it was implemented only for the frivolous purpose of humouring all the nations of the world.³

Soon after the death of Zainu'l-Ābidīn, orthodoxy once again achieved supremacy in the country during the reign of Sulṭān Ḥaidar Shāh (1470-72). Non-Muslims, writes Shrivara, "at the instigation of the mlechchas [Muslims]" were persecuted.⁴ These "mlechchas" could not be common Muslims, who would have no access or influence at the court, but must have been the 'Ulamā and the Ṣūfis who were already there.

After the death of Ḥasan Shāh (1472-84), the Baihaqī Saiyids dominated politics of the country for many years. As already pointed out, in 1579 they even seized the throne of Kashmīr.⁵

The Ṣūfis had much influence on the administration not only because they associated themselves with the court, but also because on many occasions defeated princes⁶ and nobles out of favour approached them and asked for their blessing.⁷ If ever pretenders acquired power, they thought themselves bound to follow the saints' whims.

The conversion of the Hindu population of Kashmīr to

1. Cf. *R.Ts.*, p. 222.

2. *R.Tj.*, p. 77.

3. Cf. *Tārīkh-i-Rashidī*, p. 434. Some Kashmīrī sources assert that the progress of Islam in Kashmīr was hindered by the policy of Zainu'l-Ābidīn. Cf. *T.Ks.*, f. 15a-b; *B.S.*, f. 49a-b.

4. *R.Ts.*, p. 196.

5. See *supra*, p. 148.

6. See *supra*, p. 24, n. 2.

7. Cf. *B.S.*, ff. 80b-81a.

Islam is ascribed by the modern Muslim scholars¹ to the missionary activities of the Ṣūfīs while non-Muslim scholars² generally attribute it to the persecution of rulers such as Sulṭān Sikandar. The contemporary works, however, do not make any specific reference to the conversion of non-Muslims to Islam during the period under review. Stray references of conversion recorded in political and hagiological works do little to illustrate the process.

The influence of the Ṣūfīs on the religion of the people of Kashmir cannot be rejected outright. They arrived in Kashmir with the purpose of preaching and teaching Islam³. The Islamization of Kashmir had started before the arrival of Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī⁴ and his followers. The advent of the Saiyid accelerated the process. The establishment of the *khānqāhs* helped the dissemination of Islamic spiritual and intellectual values. Their establishment at important Hindu centres such as Avantipura, Vijabror, Mattan, Sopur and Srinagar, suggests the Ṣūfīs were prepared to face Hindu religious and intellectual challenges. There the Ṣūfīs demonstrated their own way of life and the doors of some *khānqāhs* such as those of Saiyid Husain⁵ and Pīr Hājī Muḥammad⁶ were open to all classes of people. The interest of some Ṣūfīs⁷ in the welfare of the people in general must have also helped them to attract non-Muslims to their *khānqāhs*, providing them with an opportunity to convert the non-Muslims to Islam.

The advent of the Muslim saints was also indirectly responsible for including the non-Muslims to embrace Islam. Before the arrival of the Ṣūfīs the Brahmans enjoyed royal patronage, but the presence of the Muslim saints led to the gradual decline of their authority in the political and economic

1. Cf. Muftī Muḥammad Shāh, *Bulbul-Shāh Ṣāhib*, p. 8; Ṣūfī, *Kashmīr*, I, pp. 81 ff; Muḥibbu'l-Ḥasan, *Sulṭāns*, p. 235.
2. Cf. Wolsely Haig, *The Cambridge History of India*, III, p. 280; Ferguson, *Kashmīr*, p. 32.
3. Cf. *supra*, p. 43, Saiyid 'Alī's statements.
4. Cf. *supra*, p. 21.
5. See *supra*, p. 114.
6. See *supra*, p. 117.
7. See *supra*, p. 114.

fields.¹ Their place was taken by the newly arrived Muslim saints and the Brahmans were relegated to the background. Thus, Jonarāja says, many Brahmans and people of other castes gave up their religion in order "to obtain the favour of the king [Sikandar]."²

The Šūfis were also responsible for establishing *madrasas*, where Islamic knowledge was imparted to common Muslims. Of the earlier *madrasas* established in Kashmīr the most important were the *Madrasatu'l-Islam*,³ the *Madrasatu'l-Dāru'sh-Shifa'*⁴ and the *Madrasatu'l-'Urwatu'l-Wusqa*,⁵ all at Srinagar. These *madrasas* taught the Qur'ān and Qur'ānic commentaries. However, the best known *madrasa*, which imparted Islamic knowledge in all branches including *ḥadīs*, *fiqh* and *tafsīr*,⁶ was founded by Shaikh Ismā'il Kubravī. To this *madrasa* students flocked even from India and Kabul.⁷ It had a hostel and a well established library attached to it, and a big congregational mosque where prayers, obligatory and supererogatory, were constantly offered.⁸

The continuous waves of Muslim saints, immigrating from Persia and Central Asia, were bound to influence the society of Kashmīr in many ways. They brought about a great transformation in the life of the Kashmīrī people, both the Muslims and non-Muslims.

Hindu influence, which was dominant in the court, began to decline. Sanskrit, which had received royal patronage for many years, was replaced by Persian. The Baihaqī Saiyids, who wielded great influence in the court, in the words of Shrivara, "neglected men learned in the vernacular and in Sanskrit."⁹ However, Sanskrit continued to be the literary

1. Cf. *R.Tj.*, p. 67.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

3. *A.Ab.*, f. 110a; *T.Az.*, p. 40; *F.K.*, f. 72a; *T.H.*, III, p. 151.

4. *D.S.*, p. 63; *R.N.*, f. 381b; *A.Ab.*, f. 122b; *T.H.*, III, p. 163.

5. See *supra*, p. 122.

6. *D.S.*, pp. 63, 64; *R.N.*, f. 381b.

7. See *supra*, p. 126.

8. *T.Ks.*, f. 22b; *D.S.*, p. 63.

9. *R.Ts.*, p. 268.

language of the Hindu elite, but was nevertheless affected by an influx of many Arabic and Persian words.

The non-Muslims, who discovered that their prospects of employment and promotion were likely to improve by a knowledge of the Persian language, set themselves to the task of learning it. This imbued them with a taste for Persian poetry and Sufism. Bhaṭṭāvatara, a scholar of Zainu'l-ʿĀbidīn's time, who was enamoured of Firddusī's *Shāh-Nāmā*, composed the *Jainavilāsa* containing the sayings of the Sultān.¹ Shrivara translated Jāmi's *Yūsuf-Zulaikha* and entitled it *Kathā-Kautuka*.² Moreover, interest in Persian literature must have made it easier for non-Muslims to understand and appreciate the faith of their rulers.

However, in course of time Hindu society was split into two groups—the Persian-speaking Hindus, who were called *kārkun*, and the Sanskrit-speaking, who were called *paṇḍits*.³ This resulted in the families of Sanskrit-studying and Persian-studying Hindus not intermarrying but forming endogamous groups.⁴ This situation must have embarrassed many Hindus, who had learnt Persian for economic reasons.

The Persianisation of the administration gradually ushered in an era of cultural conquest. Although Sultān Quṭbu'd-Dīn refused to promote the missionary activities of Saiyid ʿĀlī, he nevertheless gave up dressing in the Hindu fashion on his advice.⁵ From Jonarāja's account it appears that by the time of Sultān Sikandar, Hindus too adopted Muslim dress.⁶ Besides dress, the diet of the Kashmirīs also underwent a change. It is said that some Hindus started eating beef in the company of Muslims.⁷ Shuka writes : "It was on account of the association

1. *R.Ts.*, p. 136.

2. Published at Bombay in 1901. Vide Sūfī, *Kashmīr*, I, p. 167.

3. Bühler, "Tour in Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts". *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Bombay Branch), 1877, p. 20; Madan, *Family and Kinship*, pp. 22-23.

4. Bühler, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

5. *B.S.*, f. 23b; *T.Km.*, f. 91b.

6. Cf. *R.Tj.*, p. 67.

7. *R.Ts.*, pp. 234-35, 319.

of the people [Hindus] with the Turuṣkas that they did not give up their fondness for dress, land and food, the last of which brought punishment on them, in as much as they had to place themselves under medical treatment."¹

Lamenting over these changes Jonarāja remarks : "As the wind destroys the trees, and the locusts the shali crop, so did the Yavanas destroy the usages of Kashmīra."² Similarly Shrivara ascribes the misfortunes of the people of Kashmīr to their acceptance of changes in their way of life.³ But these protests were in vain; the influence of Persian culture went on increasing day by day.

The popularity of Sufism made the Kashmīrī Muslims increasingly gullible and credulous. The growing charlatanism in Sufism brought about considerable confusion among the Ṣūfis themselves. Both living and dead saints came to be recognised as endowed with great miraculous powers. The graves of the saints became constant centres of pilgrimage for all classes of Kashmīrī Muslims, who thronged there to obtain spiritual blessings for the fulfilment of their wishes and vows. Many people whom living saints were not able to impress were, in times of crisis and difficulty, attracted to the tombs of the saints.⁴

The Ṣūfis, however, were a great force in maintaining the framework of Sunnī social and religious order intact. They not only challenged the deeply entrenched traditional religion of Hinduism but also made efforts to counteract Inā 'Asharī Shī'ism, which was introduced into Kashmīr by Mīr Shamsu'd-Dīn 'Irāqī. He was born in the village of Kund near Solghān,⁵ and his father, Ibrāhīm, was a Musavī Saiyid while his mother belonged to a Saiyid family of Qazvīn.⁶ He seems to have received a good education and he became the disciple of Shāh

1. *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, Eng. Tr. Dutta, p. 380.

2. *R.Tj.*, p. 57.

3. *R.Ts.*, p. 235.

4. Cf. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmīr*, pp. 286-87.

5. *Tuhfatul-Aḥbāb*, Ms., p. 3. Mīrzā Ḥaidar says that he was born in Tālish. *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, p. 435.

6. *Tuhfatul-Aḥbāb*, p. 3.

Qāsim,¹ the son and successor of Saiyid Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh. The Mīr was the author of a treatise on Shī'ism, entitled *Fiqh-i-Ahwat*.²

Mīr Shamsu'd-Dīn entered the service of Sultān Husain Mirzā (1469-1506) of Herāt, who deputed him as his envoy to the court of Sultān Ḥasan Shāh (1472-84) of Kashmīr.³ He arrived there in 1481 and stayed for about eight years.⁴

During this visit, according to the Sunnī authors,⁵ Mīr Shamsu'd-Dīn did not declare himself a Shī'ī but became a disciple of the Kubravī saint Shaikh Ismā'il. It seems that the Mīr had realized that without preparing the ground in advance it was not advisable for him to embark on the propagation of his creed. However, he was secretly active and imbued Bābā 'Alī Najār, a prominent disciple of Shaikh Ismā'il Kubravī, with Shī'ī beliefs.⁶

In 1486 Faṭḥ Shāh seized the throne from Muḥammad Shāh and he sent Mīr Shamsu'd-Dīn back with gifts to Sultān Husain Mirzā.⁷ The Mirzā, for reasons not known, dismissed 'Irāqī from his service,⁸ whereupon he went to his preceptor, Shāh Qāsim.⁹ But, urged by Shāh Qāsim to preach Shī'ism

1. Ibid., p. 3; Shuka, *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, p. 339.

2. *Tuḥfatu'l-Aḥbāb*, p. 13; *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, p. 435; *T.Ks.*, f. 25a; *T.Az.*, p. 77.

3. *Tuḥfatu'l-Aḥbāb*, p. 13; *T.Ks.*, f. 21a; *B.S.*, f. 60b; *T.Az.*, p. 67. Aslam and Ḥasan (*G.A.*, f. 136b; *T.H.*, II, p. 149), say that he arrived in Kashmīr in 892/1486. But this is wrong as by this time Sultān Ḥasan of Kashmīr was dead.

4. *T.Ks.*, f. 21b; *B.S.*, ff. 60b-61a; *T.Az.*, p. 67.

5. *T.Ks.*, f. 21b; *K.S.*, f. 59b; *N.A.*, f. 55a; *T.Az.*, p. 67; *G.A.*, f. 139a; *F.K.*, f. 80a; *T.H.*, II, p. 192, III, p. 153; *T.K.*, p. 148.

6. *T.Ks.*, f. 23a-b; *T.Az.*, pp. 67, 75; *G.A.*, f. 139a; *T.H.*, II, p. 192; *T.K.*, p. 148. These sources assert that Bābā 'Alī was not well educated and therefore was easily trapped by 'Irāqī.

7. *T.Ks.*, f. 21b; *B.S.*, f. 60b; *T.Az.*, p. 67; *G.A.*, f. 139a; *T.H.*, II, p. 192.

8. It is suggested by some authorities (*T.Ks.*, f. 23a; *T.Az.*, p. 68; *G.A.*, f. 139a; *T.H.*, II, p. 199) that Sultān Mirzā dismissed 'Irāqī because of his religious views. Had it been so, the Mirzā would not have employed him in the first instance.

9. *Tuḥfatu'l-Aḥbāb*, p. 3.

in Kashmīr,¹ Mīr Shamsu'd-Dīn arrived there for the second time in 1501.²

Shaikh Ismā'īl Kubravī had by now retired to seclusion and his place had been taken by Bābā 'Alī Najār.³ The Bābā received the Mīr warmly and even handed over his disciples to him.⁴ But it was the conversion of Mūsā Raina, one of the leading nobles of the time, to Shī'ism that facilitated the activities of the Mīr in Kashmīr. Mūsā Raina gave him moral and material support and built a *khānqāh* for him at Jadībal,⁵ in Srīnagar.

The rise to power of Saiyid Muḥammad Baihaqī the *wazīr* of Muḥammad Shāh (II, 1493-1505), upset the plans of the Mīr. Saiyid Muḥammad was strongly opposed to Mīr Shāmsu'd-Dīn,⁶ and the later, finding his stay in Kashmīr difficult, emigrated to Askardū (or Skardū) in Ladākh.⁷ There he converted a large number of Buddhists to his creed.⁸

Meanwhile Faṭḥ Shāh seized the throne for the second time in 1505 and he appointed as his *wazīr*, Mūsā Raina,⁹ who invited Mīr Shamsu'd-Dīn back to Kashmīr from Askardu.¹⁰ With the support of Mūsā Raina the Mīr converted a large number of non-Muslims to Shī'ism.¹¹ The destruction of temples was once again started.¹² Shuka writes : "According to

1. Ibid, p. 17.

2. B.S., f. 72a.

3. T.Ks., f. 23a-b; T.Az., p. 75; G.A., f. 142a.

4. Ibid.

5. T.Ks., f. 24a; T.Km., f. 153a; T.Az., p. 77; G.A., f. 142a; T.H., II, p. 199, III, p. 201. It is said that the *khānqāh* was built on the foundation of a temple which already existed there and was destroyed on the advice of 'Irāqī.

6. *Tuḥfatu'l-Aḥbāb*, pp. 63-64; B.S., 71a.

7. Ibid., p. 64; Ibid., ff. 71a, 77a; T.Az., p. 77; T.H., II, p. 199.

8. *Tuḥfatu'l-Aḥbāb*, p. 64.

9. B.S., ff. 71b-75b; T.Km., f. 107a-b.

10. Ibid., f. 78a; Ibid., f. 107b; G.A., f. 142a; T.H., II, p. 199.

11. B.S., f. 80b; T.Km., f. 108a; T.H., II, p. 199.

12. Wherever there were temples, says the author of B.S., and Ḥaidar Malik, they were razed to the ground and mosques built in their places. B.S., ff. 78b, 80a; T.Km., f. 108a.

Merashesha's [Mīr Shamsu'd-Dīn] advice, Somachandra [Mūsā Raina] arrested men belonging to temples, confiscated lands of the Brahmans and gave them to Merashesha's servants ...The gods then deserted their images, for otherwise how could men plunder their temples?"¹

In 1517 Muhammad Shāh came to the throne for the fourth time and he appointed Kājī Chak as his *wazīr*. Kājī Chak was also a strong supporter of the Mīr and helped him to establish Shī'ism firmly in Kashmir. All the leading nobles at the court had by now embraced Shī'ism.²

In order to stem the growth of Shī'ism in Kashmir, some leading Suhrawardī and Kubravī saints and the *'ulamā* united to restore Sunnism to its former glory. The lead was taken by Shaikh Faṭḥu'llāh, the son of Shaikh Ismā'il Kubravī. He resented the Shī'ī practice of reviling the first three Caliphs³ and is said to have written a letter to Mīr Shamsu'd-Dīn accusing him of deviating from the right path. In order to suppress his activities, Kājī Chak confiscated his property and he was obliged to leave Kashmir for Sialkot.⁴

Saiyid Aḥmed Kirmānī, who had arrived in Kashmir by this time from India, also tried to stop Shī'ī preaching.⁵ It was, however, left to the lot of Shaikh Ḥamza, who had received guidance both from Shaikh Faṭḥu'llāh and Saiyid Aḥmad,⁶ to check the progress of Shī'ī doctrines in Kashmir. He claimed that the Prophet, accompanied by his four distinguished companions, had once appeared to him in a dream and told him that the Shī'īs were wrong and that he should not associate with them.⁷ Many Shī'īs are said to have renounced their faith because of his preaching.⁸ He urged his disciples to hate and

1. *Rūjatarānginī*, p. 330.

2. Cf. *T.K.*, f. 24a.

3. *F.K.*, f. 80b; *T.H.*, III, p. 157; *T.K.*, p. 148.

4. See *supra*, p. 127.

5. See *supra*, p. 24.

6. See *supra*, p. 29.

7. *D.S.*, p. 216; *R.N.*, ff. 393a-b; *A.Ab.*, ff. 128a-b; 133a-b.

8. See *supra*, p. 29.

avoid the company of the Shī'is.¹

However, it was the conquest of Kashmīr by Mirzā Ḥaidar in 1540 which again made Sunnism dominant in the Valley. He sent the *Fiqh-i-Aḥwat* of Mīr Shamsu'd-Dīn to the Sunnī 'ulamā of Hindustan to obtain their verdict against its contents.² Upon their advice,³ Mirzā Ḥaidar embarked upon a policy of the ruthless destruction of the Shī'is. The tomb of Shamsu'd-Dīn was razed to the ground⁴ and the Shī'i preachers, Shaikh Shunglī⁵ and Mullā Ḥājī *Khatīb*,⁶ were beheaded. He then summoned Shaikh Daniyāl, the son and successor of 'Irāqī, from Askardū where he had fled, and imprisoned him for one year.⁷ In 1550, he beheaded him, on the ground of reviling the first three Caliphs.⁸ The Mirzā claims that no one dared openly to profess Shī'ism as a result of his policy of persecution.

Some Kashmīrī authors⁹ tend to the view that Mirzā Ḥaidar started his policy of persecution because of his friendship with Shaikh Ḥamza. But the view seems hardly justified, for his *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī* does not indicate that he was associated with any Kashmīrī Muslim saint and he did not even consult the Kashmīrī 'ulamā or Ṣūfīs on the contents of *Fiqh-i-Aḥwat*.

1. *D.S.*, p. 217. Although at present Shī'is and Sunnīs of Kashmīr live in harmony, the former have not forgotten Shaikh Ḥamza's antipathy towards them.
2. *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, p. 435; *T.Ks.*, f. 25a-b; *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, II, p. 336. The sources give no indication of the place to which the *Fiqh* was sent. It is possible that the Lahore 'ulamā are meant.
3. *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, pp. 432-36; *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, II, pp. 336-37.
4. *T.Ks.*, f. 26a; *B.S.*, f. 112a; *N.A.*, ff. 70b-71a; *T.Az.*, p. 80; *T.H.*, I, p. 480, II, p. 221.
5. *T.Ks.*, f. 26a; *B.S.*, f. 112a; *N.A.*, f. 72a; *T.Az.*, p. 80; *T.H.*, II, p. 222.
6. *T.Km.*, f. 122b; *N.A.*, f. 72a; *T.H.*, II, p. 222.
7. *T.Ks.*, f. 26a; *B.S.*, ff. 112a, 119a; *T.Km.*, f. 122a; *N.A.*, f. 71b; *T.Az.*, p. 80; *T.H.*, II, p. 222.
8. *Ibid.*, f. 26a; *Ibid.*, f. 112a; *Ibid.*, f. 122a; *Ibid.*, f. 71b; *Ibid.*, p. 80; *Ibid.*, p. 222.
9. Cf. *H.M.*, f. 112b; *R.N.*, f. 365a.

The ruthlessness of Mirzā Ḥaidar towards the Shī'is was in fact dictated by political reasons and was designed to uproot the influence of the Chaks, who were generally Shī'is.¹

After the death of Mirzā Ḥaidar in 1551, Chak influence revived in Kashmir again. In 1552 Ibrāhīm Shāh came to the throne and he appointed Daulat Chak as his *wazīr*.² He provided both moral and material support to the Shī'is,³ and asked the preachers of the mosques to recite the names of the twelve Imāms of the Isnā 'Asharī Shī'is in the *Kkutba*.⁴

Ghāzī Shāh, who deposed Ḥabīb Shāh, the last Shāh Mīr ruler, in 1561⁵, went to the extent of executing a Ṣūfī named Saiyid Ḥamid⁶ and banished Shaikh Ḥamza from Srinagar.⁷ In the reign of his successor Husain Shāh Chak (1563-70), there were several incidents of Shī'ī—Sunnī conflict in which two Sunnī 'ulamā, Mullā Yusuf and Mullā Firūz Ganā'ī, were executed because they had previously sentenced to death a Shī'ī who had seriously wounded Qāzī Ḥabīb, the

1. At first Mirzā Ḥaidar had cordial relations with the Shī'is of Kashmir. He even visited the tomb of Mīr Shamsu'd-Dīn 'Irāqī at Jadibal and paid his respects there as a humble devotee (*B.S.*, ff. 109a-110b). But soon Regī Chak, a leading Shī'ī noble, revolted, and joined Kājī Chak, another Shī'ī noble. After this the attitude of the Mirzā towards the Shī'is changed. *T.A.*, III, pt. II, pp. 709-10; *B.S.*, f. 211b. See also *T.Ks.*, ff. 25b-26a.
2. *B.S.*, f. 119a-b.
3. He gave large endowments to the descendants of 'Irāqī, and Bādā 'Alī Nājar and built mausoleums over the graves of 'Irāqī, Daniyal and Nājar. *B.S.*, ff. 120a-121a; *T.Az.*, p. 100; *T.H.*, II, p. 230.
4. *B.S.*, f. 122a; *T.H.*, II, p. 230.
5. *T.Ks.*, f. 28a; *B.S.*, f. 125b; *T.Km.*, f. 130b; *N.A.*, f. 76a; *T.Az.*, p. 89; *T.H.*, II, p. 233.
6. *T.Ks.*, f. 30a-b; *N.A.* f. 76a; *N.Az.*, p. 91; *T.H.*, II, p. 236. According to Ḥasan, Ghāzī Shāh killed another Ṣūfī named Saiyid Kamāl, through poison (*T.H.*, II, p. 235). Muḥibbu'l-Ḥasan, in his defence of Ghāzī Shāh, says that it would be wrong to assert that he was a fanatic Shī'ī, as neither the author of *B.S.*, nor Ḥaidar Malik have said so (*Sultāns*, p. 154). But this is no proof with which to repudiate the claim of the sources, which accuse Ghāzī of being a fanatic Shī'ī. And moreover Saiyid 'Alī, the author of *T.Ks.*, is an earlier authority than *B.S.*, or Ḥaidar Malik.
7. See *supra*, p. 29.

preacher of *Jāmi'-masjid* Srīnagar.¹

However, in the reign of 'Alī-Shāh (1570-78), who followed a policy of tolerance towards the Sunnīs, peace was restored.² But the situation changed in the reign of Yūsuf Shāh, who was not able to maintain law and order properly.³ His son Sultān Ya'qūb was a fickle-minded youth and persecuted both the 'ulamā and the Sufīs.⁴ In his reign Bābā Dāwud *Khākī*, the disciple of Shaikh Ḥamza, established a strong front against the Shī'īs. In his work *Dastūru's-Sālikin*, he states that the Shī'īs are heretics who have departed from the true faith, and therefore their wanton destruction is lawful.⁵

In support of his thesis he quotes the following saying ascribed to the Caliph 'Alī: "Towards the end of the world there will appear a group of people, known as *rawāfiz*, who will claim that they are my friends. But in fact they will be my enemies and if they come to you, you should kill them."⁶ Bābā Dāwud was so hostile to the Shī'īs that, stung by the praise which his teacher Mullā Ḥāfiz Baṣīr once gave them, he left his company.⁷

Shaikh Ya'qūb Ṣufī, the contemporary of *Khākī*, also denounced the Shī'īs. Although he did not go to the lengths of *Khākī*, he believed that the only "right path" (*sirātu'l-musta-qīm*) was that of the Sunnīs and recommended that the company of the Shī'īs, whom he called innovators, should be avoided and even that meals should not be taken with them.⁸

1. *T.Ks.*, f. 28a; *T.A.*, III, pt. II, pp. 745-56; *B.S.*, ff. 127b-28b; *T.Km.*, f. 135b; *N.A.*, f. 83a; *T.Az.*, p. 91; *T.H.*, II, pp. 240-41.

2. Cf. *Khākī*, *Rishī-Nāmā*, f. 132a-b; *B.S.*, f. 137b; *T.Km.*, f. 139a; *T.Az.*, p. 92; *T.H.*, II, p. 244.

3. Cf. *T.Km.*, f. 114a-b; *T.Az.*, p. 93; *T.H.*, II, p. 249.

4. Cf. *B.S.*, f. 181a-b; *T.Km.*, f. 161a-b; *T.Az.*, pp. 98-99; *T.H.*, pp. 270-71.

5. *D.S.*, p. 148.

6. *D.S.*, p. 97.

7. *T.H.*, III, p. 172.

8. *Risāla-i-Zikrīya*, ff. 12a-b, 13a.

However, in 1586 Kashmir was conquered by the Mughals.¹ But the Shī'ī-Sunnī conflict continued there down through the centuries. Soon after the annexation of Kashmir by the Mughals, there was a severe Shī'ī-Sunnī riot in Srinagar, in which Shamsu'd-Dīn 'Irāqī's tomb was once again desecrated.² In the seventeenth century *Khwāja* Khāwand Maḥmūd and his son Shaikh Moḥammad Mu'in, made strenuous efforts to check the growth and popularity of Shī'ism in Kashmir.³ But in spite of the Sūfī opposition, the Shī'ī sect could not be completely uprooted.

1. See Appendix B.

2. *T.H.*, I, pp. 481-82.

3. Cf. Rizvi, *Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India*, pp. 184-85.

CHAPTER IX

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENTS DURING THE PERIOD COVERED

To sum up, we find that Maḥmūd of *Ghaznī*'s incursions into Kashmīr in 1014 and 1016¹ opened the doors for the penetration of Muslims into the Valley long before the Shāh Mīr dynasty (1339-1561) was established. It facilitated the absorption of elements of Muslim culture into many aspects of the life of the Kashmīris under the Lohara dynasty (1003-1320, 1323-39), which by the beginning of the fourteenth century was disintegrating amidst chaos and confusion.

The Shāh Mīr dynasty established its rule not as a result of conquest but by a coup d'état,² and from 1339 to 1561, seventeen kings of this dynasty ruled over the country.

Under their prolonged and, for the first hundred and fifty years, stable rule, changes of far-reaching importance transformed Kashmīr.

Immigration from Persia and Central Asia began with the establishment of the dynasty, and continued throughout it. But the great wave of immigrants associated with the work of Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī and his son Mīr Muḥammad Hamadānī accelerated the process of Persianisation of the administration, and the development of a new way of life substantially different from that of old Kashmīr.

However, the intolerant attitude adopted by Sultān Sikandar and a few of his successors, under the influences already discussed³ was exceptional rather than usual for the Sultāns of Kashmīr. These historical accidents procured a generally peaceful change, with little bloodshed, from the ancient

1. Cf. *supra*, pp. 2-3.

2. Cf. *supra*, pp. 16-18.

3. Cf. *supra*, pp. 131-134.

Hindu system to a Persianised form of Muslim society : and culturally Kashmir became part of the Irānian world, looking to Central Asia and Persia.

The Shāh Mīr Sultāns, like all medieval rulers, were ambitious to aggrandize themselves at the cost of their neighbours; but the peculiar geographic situation of the Valley made it impossible for them to invade successfully any adjacent territories.

Sultān Shihābu'd-Dīn (1354-73) failed miserably in his scheme of conquest; no Sultān after him made any attempt to annex territories beyond the Kashmir Valley. Their rule was confined to the Valley itself, and the submontane region to the west and the south. But this compulsory concentration upon a small closely-settled area ensured the clear and firm crystallization of the changes in culture, religion and social life which began with the new dynasty.

The attitude of the Shāh Mīr dynasty towards its subjects was on the whole one of sympathy and consideration. Non-Muslims embraced Islam owing to a number of different considerations and pressures, but the administration did not generally create situations in which they felt forced to abandon their former way of life. Thus in distant parts such as Ladākh and Rājaurī, the non-Muslims under the Sultāns of Kashmir continued to follow their ancient beliefs and customs. Even the tolerant Jahāngīr (1605-1627) was shocked at the results of such leniency on the part of the Muslims of the Rājaurī Valley : "They ally themselves with Hindus, and both (Hindus and Muslims) give and take girls. Taking them is good, but giving them, God forbid !" I gave an order that hereafter they should not do such things, and whoever was guilty of them, should be capitally punished".¹

In Srinagar, the capital of the Muslim government in the Valley of Kashmir, life was definitely and permanently influenced by the Orthodox Persian system.

In the wake of the downfall of the Shāh Mīr dynasty and the usurpation of the throne by Mirzā Ḥaidar in 1540, intole-

1. P. 181, II, *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngirī*, English tr., Rogers and Beveridge, II, p. 181.

rance became dominant. Thus Abū'l Faẓl says¹ : "Owing to the Mīrzā's frigid and insipid bigotries, the result of imperfect development, the essentials for Kashmīr, *viz.*, unanimity and fidelity, found a bad market. And to this day there is an odour of bigotry about the Kashmīrīs, for there is a powerful influence in association, and especially a strong impression produced by the way of princes who are vigorous".

In short the example of the ruler inspired individuals, inconsequential in themselves, to exalt their own status by exhibiting vigorous religious bigotry against their social equals and inferiors : a phenomenon of which the world can still see examples.

The rule of the Chaks, from 1561 to 1586 was marked with confusion, internecine dissensions, and bitter rivalries. The generous traditions of Sultān Zainu'l-Ābidīn (1420-70) sank almost to death, and Kashmīr needed an Akbar (1556-1605) to restore peace and to rehabilitate the old pattern of life.

The following inscription, written by Abu'l-Faẓl to be inscribed upon a temple in Kashmīr,² indicates the spirit of the new government which Akbar introduced to the Valley³ :

O God, in every temple I see people that seek Thee, and
in every language I hear spoken, people praise Thee !
Polytheism and Islam feel after Thee,
Each religion says, "Thou art one, without equal".

If it be a mosque, people murmur the holy prayer, and
if it be a Christian Church, people ring the bell from
love to Thee.

Sometimes I frequent the Christian cloister, and
sometimes the mosque,
But it is Thou whom I search from temple to temple.

Thy elect have no dealings with either heresy or

1. *A.N.*, English tr., H. Beveridge, I, pp. 484-85.

2. If they were ever inscribed, they have probably been destroyed; at any rate they have not been found.

3. *A.A.*, English tr., Blochmann, p. LV,

orthodoxy; for neither of them stands behind the screen of Thy truth.

Heresy to the heretic, and religion to the orthodox,
But the dust of the rose petal belongs to the heart of the
perfume-seller.

Against such a background, the Ṣūfīs of Kashmir lived, meditated, and sometimes taught.

The Social and Institutional Aspects of Kashmirī Sufism

The ethical standards of the Ṣūfīs and moral values of the *khānqāhs* and educational institutions (*madrasas*) was an example to all Kashmirīs whether Muslims or not, in all the diverse aspects of the social life.

While the reputation of the Ṣūfīs as a whole was impaired by the charlatanism and quackery, already described, of those Ṣūfīs who used the credulity of the ignorant for their own benefit, the guidance of more prominent individuals such as Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī, Saiyid Muḥammad Amīn and Bābā Dāwud Khākī, was a great help to society. The Rīshīs were a beacon of decency to all Kashmirīs.

The sources, being essentially hagiographical, do not offer any more evidence of the social impact of the Ṣūfī movement than has already been extracted.

It would be unhistorical to formulate theories on the basis of present conditions, or on the basis of the material found and conditions prevailing in other parts of the Islamic world.

It would be particularly dangerous, in view of the unique position of Kashmir, to rely upon the deductions made from what is known about the effect of Ṣūfism upon contemporary society in other parts of Islamic world where conditions were totally different,

APPENDIX A

*The Works of Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī*¹
[Abbr. R=Risāla]

Name of the Book	British Museum	Malik Library Tehrān ²	Research Department Srinagar	Rizā Library Rāmpur	Other Libraries
R. Amīriya		**			
R. 'Aqlīya	Add. 16840	**			Bib. Nat., Paris, 2249.
R. 'Arba'in					
R. Asrāū'-Naqt		**	1966		
*R. Asrār-i-Rūhi		**	1966		
R. Asnād-i-Hilyā-i-Hazrat-i-Risālat	Add. 16840	**			
*R. Aurādiya	Add. 16840				
R. Bahrām Shāh		**	1966		

- * Indicates that the work is in Arabic, and ** that the number is not available.
- Vide, Asghar 'Alī Hīkmat, "Les Voyages d'un Mystique Persan de Hamadān au Kāshmir", *Journal Asiatique*, CCXL, 1952, pp. 58ff...

Name of the Book	British Museum	Malik Library Tehrān	Research Department Srinagar	Rizā Library Rāmpur	Other Libraries
R. Chihil Asrār	Add. 16840 Add. 16779			**	Bankipur Library, India, 150. Bib. Nat., Paris, 2249.
R. Dah-Qā'ida	Add. 16832 Add. 16840	**	1966	**	
R. Dar bāb-i-'Ulamā-i-Dīn		**			
R. Darweshiya	Add. 16840	**			
R. Dāwudiya	Add. 16840	**			
R. Faqariya		**	1966	**	Bib. Nat., Paris, 2249.
R. Futūhiya	Add. 16840	**	1966	**	India Office, 1357/9.
R. Ḥalu'l-Faṣūṣ	Add. 16840				
R. Hamadāniya	Add. 16840	**		**	
R. Haqiqat-i-Imān		**			
R. Insāniya	Add. 16840	**			
R. Iṣṭilāḥāt-i-Ṣūfiya	Add. 16840		1966	**	Bib. Nat., Paris, 2249.
R. I'tiqādiya	Add. 16840	**			
R. Kashfu'l-Haqā'iq	Add. 16840		1966		

Name of the Book	British Museum	Malik Library Tehrān	Research Department Srinagar	Rizā Library Rāmpur	Other Libraries
*R. <i>Khawāṭiriya</i>	Add. 16840		1966		
*R. <i>Khuba-i-Amriya</i>	Add. 16840				
R. <i>Makārimu'l-Akhlaq</i>	Add. 16840	**	1966	**	
R. <i>Maktūbāt</i>	Add. 16840	**	1966	**	
R. <i>Manāmiya</i>	Add. 16840	**			
R. <i>Maqāmātu'l-Šūfiya</i>	Add. 16840	**		*	India Office, 1922/12; Bib. Nat., Paris, 2142 and 2249.
R. <i>Mashāribu'l-Aẓwāq</i>	Add. 16840				
R. <i>Mashiya</i>	Add. 16840	**		1966	
R. <i>Mirātu'l-Ta'ibin</i>		**	**		
R. <i>Muchlaka</i>					
R. <i>Munājāt</i>	Add. 16840			1966	
R. <i>Muwaddat</i>	Add. 16840				
R. <i>Nūriya</i>	Add. 16840	**			
R. <i>Sa'adat-Namā</i>	Add. 16840	**		1966	
R. <i>Sairu'l-Tālibin</i>	Add. 16840	**			
R. <i>Sharḥ-i-Mushkilḥal</i>	Add. 16840	**	**	1966	Bib. Nat., Paris, 2249.
R. <i>Šifātu'l-Fuqara</i>		**			

Name of the Book	British Museum	Malik Library Tehrān	Research Department Srinagar	Rizā Library Rāmpur	Other Libraries
R. Talqīniya		**			
R. 'Uqbāt		**			
R. Wāridāt	Add. 16840	**		**	
R. Wujūdiyya		**		**	
R. Żikriya	Add. 16840	**	1966		Bib. Nat., Paris, 2249.
R. Żikriya-i-'Arabia'		**	1966		India Office 2176;
Żakīratu'l-Mulūk	Add. 16840	**	1824	**	Bib. Nat., Paris, 2225; Bankipur Library.
Ms. A) Untitled	Add. 16840				
Ms. B)					
Ms. C) Treatises					

APPENDIX A. 1

A Note on the authorship of the Risāla-i-Dah Qā'ida

Molé¹ and Meier² believe that the *Risāla-i-Dah Qā'ida* is the Persian translation of Najmu'd-Dīn Kubrā's Arabic work *Uṣūl al-asrār*. Molé begins his article by stating that the *Risāla-i-Dah Qā'ida* is "one of the best known works of Irānian mysticism, as the very numerous manuscripts prove". He continues: "Its distribution is not limited to the Kubraviya order; it has been copied, read, meditated upon by members of all the great Irānian orders."³ In saying this he testifies to the widespread fame of the text; but its fame alone does not justify the uncritical acceptance of Najmu'd-Dīn Kubrā as its author.

M. Molé's purpose being to introduce the text (published apparently only once, in an edition "almost impossible to find, and practically unknown")⁴ to a wider reading public, it may not have seemed important to him to consider, in his short article, whether or not Najmu'd-Dīn was really the original author.

Saiyid 'Alī does not acknowledge his authorship, and in *Chihil-Maqāmāt* he himself expresses similar ideas; this work is indisputably by the Saiyid.⁵

1. La version persane du Traité des dix principes de Najm al-Dīn Kobra, par 'Alī b. Shihab al-Dīn Hamadānī", *Farhang-i. Irān-Zamīn*, VI, 1337 sh.
2. *Der Islam*, XXIV, 1937.
3. Molé, op. cit., p. 38.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 51, n. 2.
5. Cf. Molé "Les Kubrāwiya entre Sunnisme et Shiisme aux huitième et neuvième siècles de l'hégire", *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, XXIX, 1961, p. 111; Teufel, *Eine Lebensbeschreibung des Scheichs 'Alī-i-Hamadānī*, p. 49.

This raises at least a doubt about the original authorship of the work. It should perhaps be noted that Molé and Meier, who might indeed have had no evidence to hand, have not offered a history of the text; so they can give no conclusive evidence that it existed before Saiyid 'Alī's time, and none is known to the present author from other sources.

Even were the work accepted as Najmu'd-Dīn's, the ten principles were claimed by Saiyid 'Alī as a fundamental part of his own thought. As such, they are important for this study.

APPENDIX B

The view that Shaikh Ya'qūb Ṣarfī was largely responsible for the Mughal invasion of Kashmīr is untenable. Kashmīr occupied an important place in Akbar's scheme of conquest. Long before Sultān Ya'qūb came to the throne (1586), Akbar had decided to annex Kashmīr. In the fifth year of his reign (1560-61) Akbar had sent Mirzā Qarā Bahādur Khān, the brother of Mirza Haidar, to invade Kashmīr, but the scheme petered out.¹ However, to avoid further Mughal invasions, the Kashmīrī Sultāns continued to send rich gifts to the Emperor;² the Mughal ambassadors too occasionally visited the Kashmīrī court³ and even interfered in local disputes.⁴

The ambitious designs of 'Abdu'llāh Khān Uzbek of Turān, who wished to seize Kashghar, made the annexation of Kashmīr inevitable for Akbar. The crisis was precipitated because of the deposition of Yūsuf Shāh, the father of Sultān Ya'qūb, in 1579 by Saiyid Mubārak Baihaqī.⁵ In a bid to regain the throne Yūsuf Shāh sought the help of Akbar,⁶ which was given.⁷ Meanwhile Yūsuf Shāh regained the throne with his own efforts.⁸ However, Akbar, towards the end of 1581 sent an imperial officer named Ṣāliḥ 'Āqil to advise Yūsuf Shāh to accept his overlordship.⁹ In order to placate the Emperor Yūsuf Shāh sent one of his sons, Prince Haldar, to the Mughal court with some gifts.¹⁰

1. *A.N.*, II, pp. 128, 129.

2. *T.A.*, III, pt. II, pp. 746, 750.

3. *Ibid.*, *B.S.*, f. 128b.

4. Cf. *T.A.*, III, pt. II, pp. 746-7.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 754; *B.S.*, f. 148a. See also *A.N.*, III, p. 289.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 289-90; *T.A.*, III, pt. II, p. 756; *B.S.*, f. 148a.

7. *T.A.*, III, pt. II, p. 756; *B.S.*, f. 157a-b.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 756-7; *ibid.*, f. 158a.

9. *A.N.*, III, p. 375; *T.A.*, III, pt. II, p. 758; *B.S.*, f. 174b.

10. *A.N.*, III, p. 375; *T.A.*, pt. III, pt. II, p. 758.

Encouraged by the success of Šālīḥ the Emperor in 990/1582 sent Shaikh Ya'qūb Šarfī along with Prince Ḥaldar with a *farmān* to Yūsuf Shāh.¹ The contents of the *farmān* are not known, but if commensurate with the imperial policy, he would have been urged to accept Akbar's paramountcy on almost the same terms which had been accepted by the Rājput chiefs. Nothing is known about the success of Šarfī's mission, but Ābū'l-Faẓāl's silence over the matter shows that Šarfī failed to get a positive response to the *farmān* and some evasive reply must have been given to him.

After the death of Mirzā Ḥakīm, Akbar himself marched to Kābul on August 22, 1585, and early in October, when he reached Kalānūr, he deputed Ḥakīm 'Alī and Bahāu'd-Dīn Kambū to Kashmir.² They were to tell Yūsuf Shāh that previously he had offered the excuse of long distance to avoid presenting himself at the imperial court, but now the Emperor was in the neighbourhood and he should at once come to pay his respects to him.³ Yūsuf Shāh failed to obey the imperial command and the Mughal envoy returned unsuccessful and apprised the Emperor of the situation.⁴

Akbar, who was determined to annex Kashmir, sent an army under Shāh Rukh and Rāja Bhagwān Dās against Yūsuf Shāh; Shaikh Ya'qūb was also sent with the imperial army,⁵ perhaps to serve as a guide. Shaikh Ya'qūb succeeded in persuading the *zamindārs* (chiefs) of Karnāh (west of Kashmir) to surrender to the Mughal army, which decided to penetrate into the Valley from there.⁶ Yūsuf Shāh, finding defeat inevitable, surrendered on 14 February, 1586.⁷ The Mughal army, without subjugating the country, returned along with Yūsuf Shāh, who was presented to Akbar at Attack on March 28, 1586.⁸ Yūsuf Shāh was not allowed to return to the Valley and

1. A.N., III, pp. 389-90.

2. A.N., III, p. 469; T.A., III, pt. II, p. 759.

3. A.N., III, p. 469.

4. Ibid., p. 474.

5. Ibid., pp. 474-5; B.S., f. 175a.

6. A.N., III, p. 481.

7. Ibid., pp. 488-9; B.S., ff. 175b-176a.

8. A.N., III, pp. 480-1.

was placed under the custody of Rāja Todar Mal.¹ Meanwhile, Ya'qūb, the eldest son of Yūsuf Shāh, declared himself the Sultān of Kashmir.²

Although important nobles pleaded to Akbar that the conquest of Kashmir was a difficult task, Shaikh Ya'qūb Sharfi represented that the grandees of that country would follow his advice and if the Panjāb troops were sent with him, Kashmir would be seized without fighting.³ Akbar did not underestimate the situation and sent another army under Qāsim Khān along with Sharfi.⁴ From Karanbal⁵ an army was sent with Sharfi to fight against the Kashmiri army, which was proceeding to give battle. At Hastivanj⁶ a skirmish took place between the imperial vanguard, led by Shaikh Ya'qūb Sharfi, and a Kashmiri army, in which Sharfi was seriously wounded and was removed from the battlefield by his friends.⁷

Sultān Ya'qūb, because of the dissensions in his camp,⁸ could not fight against the imperial army and retired to Kishtwār.⁹ Thus the imperial army conquered the Valley in October 1586 and annexed it to the Mughal Empire.¹⁰

1. *A.N.*, III, p. 488.

2. *B.S.*, f. 178b; see also *A.N.*, III, p. 496.

3. *A.N.*, III, p. 496.

4. *Ibid.*, *B.S.*, f. 182b.

5. Karanbal of Karparthal is nine miles east of Rajauri, on the Hirpora route.

6. From a point close to the 'Āliābād Sarāi (on Pīr-Panjāl range of mountains) a high mountain ridge which slopes down from the south and falls off towards the Valley in a wall of precipitous cliffs, is called Hastivanj: cf. *R.Tk.*, II, p. 394.

7. *A.N.*, III, p. 503; *B.S.*, f. 184a.

8. Because of his arrogant nature many leading nobles including Shīrīs such as Bahādur Chak and Naurag Chak deserted him and joined the Mughals; and while he was retreating to Kishtwār, only a few of his followers remained with him; cf. *B.S.*, ff. 181a-185a.

9. *A.N.*, III, pp. 515-6. Ya'qūb Shāh, however, soon returned to the Valley and many Kashmirīs, owing to the oppressive rule of Qāsim Khān (cf. *A.N.*, III, p. 521) rallied to him. For about two years he made continuous night attacks on the Mughals and subjected them to harassment. He finally surrendered in 1588, when Akbar visited Kashmir; cf. *A.N.*, pp. 515, 521-3, 558; *B.S.*, ff. 185a-190b.

10. *A.N.*, III, p. 507.

A'zamī¹ and Ḥasan² assert that because of the persecution of Sunnis by Sultān Ya'qūb, Shaikh Ya'qūb Ṣarfī and some other nobles and Ṣūfis went to the court of Akbar and pleaded for a Mughal invasion of the Valley, in order to put an end to the intolerant policy of Sultān Ya'qūb. In order to safeguard the interests of the people of their country, it is said that they entered into an agreement with the Emperor to the following effect.

1. That the Emperor would not interfere with the religious affairs of the Kashmīrīs and he would not change the previous laws relating to the price of cereals.
2. That Kashmīrī men and women should not be made slaves and concubines.
3. That the supporters of Sultān Ya'qūb should not be given any authority in the administration of Kashmīr.

Among modern scholars, G.M. Sūfī³ and Muḥibbu'l-Ḥasan⁴ accept the version of A'zamī and Ḥasan as correct although no earlier source, either Mughal or Kashmīrī, mentions it. The foregoing discussion clearly shows that the Mughal conquest of Kashmīr was not initiated by Shaikh Ya'qūb, but formed a part of Akbar's ambitious scheme of conquest. He himself evaluated the conditions and was not misled by the representations of Shaikh Ya'qūb, who underestimated the situation, nor was he discouraged by the argument of his nobles who advocated that the conquest to Kashmīr was a difficult affair. The story of his entering into an agreement with the Kashmīrī Sūfis and nobles seems to be a later concoction. It is unlikely that Akbar would accept terms, for he knew his own strength sufficiently well.

1. *T.Az.*, p. 99.

2. *T.H.*, II, p. 271.

3. *Kashmīr*, I, p. 234.

4. *Sultāns*, p. 184.

APPENDIX C

Lallā's association with Saiyid 'Alī Hamadādī is based on the following legend. It is said that she was in the habit of wandering in a semi-nude or even nude condition, and when remonstrated with for such disregard for decency, she replied that there were no men (in Kashmīr), so whom should she fear. One day she saw Saiyid 'Alī at a distance, rushed to a baker's shop and jumped there into the blazing oven. After some time she appeared from the mouth of the oven properly clad, met Saiyid 'Alī and became his constant companion.¹

The story at its face value seems to be concocted and deserves no literal credence, even if we disregard the miracle of the oven. A story very similar to this will be found in Merutunga's *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*,² where the hero is a Kṣatriya named Jāgaddeva, and the unclothed lady a dancing girl.

Temple further observes that to Lallā "all religions were at one in their essentials. This doctrine of the Muhammadan Sūfīs she no doubt learnt in her association with Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī and perhaps other Muhammadan saint".³ Temple wrongly assumes that the Saiyid was a Naqshbandī saint and that he was unorthodox.⁴ Had he gone through the works of Saiyid 'Alī, perhaps he would not have made such a statement. Saiyid 'Alī was an orthodox Sūfī; to him Islam was the only true religion and his political thought clearly shows that he believed that there could be no compromise between a believer and an unbeliever.⁵

Some modern scholars, including Temple⁶ and Kaumudi,⁷

1. Temple, *The word of Lallā*, pp. 8-9; Kaul, "Life Sketch of Laleshwari", *Indian Antiquary*, December, 1921, p. 310.

2. Eng. Tr., Tawney, p. 186.

3. Temple, op. cit., p. 2.

4. Ibid., pp. 2, 5.

5. See supra, ch. III.

6. *The word of Lallā*, pp. 79-80.

7. *Kashmir : Its Cultural Heritage*, p. 57.

tend to indicate that Lallā conceived the idea that "God is one reality" from her association with Muslim saints such as Saiyid 'Alī. But these scholars appear to ignore the fact that this idea had long existed in Hinduism. Even as early as in the Rig Vedic hymns, we meet with the idea of "One Reality".¹ This is also the principal teaching of the *Upaniṣads*, that whatever is, is *Brahman*; it is the source and the end of all.² In the earlier *Upaniṣads* "Brahman" seems generally to be thought of as an impersonal principle, but in the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, which is comparatively late, this conception comes close to a true monotheism, where Rudra is conceived as "the One God".³

In fact there is no trace of Islamic influence in Lallā's verses. Like Kabīr or Nānak, she nowhere mentions Allāh, though Grierson and Temple suspect that the word *jin*, which Lallā uses in the following verses, is a reference to the Arabic term *jin*⁴ ("a demon, an angel, or genius"). She says :

"Shiv or Keshav, Lotus-Lord or Jin : *et cetera jin*

These be names. Yet takest Thou from me;

All the ill that is my world within;

He be Thou, or he, or he, or he".⁵

In these verses Lallā refers to God by various names. "Keshav" is Vishnu and "Lotus Lord" is Brahmā. She says

1. The best examples of it are the *Puruṣa-Sūkta* (*Rig Veda*, x. 90) and the *Nāśadiya-Sūkta* (*Rig Veda*, x. 129), both of which, in different ways, speak of "One Reality" which is the source of all things. *Rig Veda*, I, 164, 46, explicitly says : "They call him Indra, Mitra, Varuna, and Agni; he is the heavenly bird Garuṣmat : to what is one, the poets give many a name; they call it Agni, Yama, Mātariśvān".

Cf. S.N. Dasgupta, *History of Indian Philosophy*, I, pp. 19 ff.; M. Hiriyanna, *Outlines of Indian Philosophy*, pp. 38-43.

2. See chapters on *Upaniṣads* in Dasgupta, and Hiriyanna, op. cit...
3. "Truly Rudra is one, there is no place for a second, who rules all these worlds with his ruling powers. He stands opposite Creatures. He, the protector, after creating all worlds, withdraws them at the end of time". Radhakrishnan, *The Principal Upaniṣads*, p. 725. See also Hiriyanna, op. cit., p. 83.
4. *Lallā-Vākyaṇi*, p. 30; *The Word of Lallā*, p. 170.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 171.

that by whatever name the worshipper may call the Supreme, he is still Supreme. It is most unlikely that Lallā would have used the Arabic term *jin* with this in mind, as *jin* is no attribute of God in Islam. In fact *jin* is a Sanskrit word, the literal meaning of which is "victor", and it is used both for Buddha and Mahā-vīra. Lallā is probably thinking of Buddha, in his heavenly form as conceived by late Mahāyāna mythology, for there were no Jains in Kashmīr at the time, while Buddhism of the Tibetan type was still strong in outlying areas.

The sources of Lallā's religion were the indigenous school of Kashmīr Śaivism and those Hindu scholars and ascetics who came to Kashmīr from time to time. Al-Berunī says : "Muḥmud utterly ruined the prosperity of the country, and performed there wonderful exploits, by which the Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions... This is the reason, too, why Hindu sciences have retired far away from those parts of the country conquered by us, and have fled to places which our hand cannot yet reach, to Kashmīr, Benaras, and other places".¹ It seems that this chain of Hindu saints and scholars continued to pour into Kashmīr down to Lallā's time.²

1. *Kitabu'l-Hind*, Eng. Tr., Sachau (*Alberuni's India*), I, p. 22,

2. Cf. Jonarāja, *Rājataranginī*, Kaul, p. 126,

APPENDIX D

Comparative analysis of the sources regarding the lives and activities of Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī,
Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn and his disciples.

Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī :

	<i>K.M.</i>	<i>T.Ks.</i>	<i>A.Ab.</i>	<i>Mastūrāt</i>	<i>F.K.</i>	<i>T.H.</i>	<i>T.K.</i>	<i>Other</i>
						<i>III</i>		<i>Sources</i>
Born at Hamadān on 12 Rajab, 714/22 October, 1314.					f. 54a	p. 11	p. 10	
Father, a <i>hākim</i> of Hamadān	p. 441				f. 54b	p. 11		
Received early education from his maternal uncle 'Alā'u'd-Daula	p. 441				f. 54b	p. 11	p. 11	
Received initiation into Kubravi order from Shaikh Muzdaqāni	p. 451		f. 10a	f. 350b	f. 54b	p. 12		<i>N.U.</i> p. 290; <i>Haft-Iqlīm</i> , II, p. 539.
Received initiation into Kubraviya order from Taḡi'u'd-Dīn							p. 11	

<i>K.M.</i>	<i>T.Ks.</i>	<i>A.Ab.</i>	<i>Mastūrāt</i>	<i>F.K.</i>	<i>T.H.</i> <i>III</i>	<i>T.K.</i>	<i>Other</i> <i>Sources</i>
Shaikh Muzdaqānī sent him to Taqū'd-Dīn				f. 55a			
Went to Taqū'd-Dīn		f. 10b	f. 355b		p. 12		<i>N.U.</i> , p. 290.
Stayed with him for two years				f. 55a			
After the death of Taqū'd-Dīn returned to Shaikh Muzdaqānī		f. 10b		f. 55a	p. 12		<i>N.U.</i> , p. 290.
Received guidance from 'Alā'u'd-Daula Simnānī				f. 55a			
Collected 400 traditions, from the prominent saints, including 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Simnānī	p. 453-54						
Travelled around the world three times							<i>Haft-Iqlīm</i> , II, p. 539.
Tīmūr invited in order to test his spiritual powers				f. 58a-b	p. 13	p. 16	

K.M.	T.Ks.	A.Ab.	<i>Masūrat</i>	F.K.	T.H. III	T.K.	Other Sources
Migrated to Kashmir because of Timūr's persecution				f. 58b	p. 13	p. 16	
Reported to have remarked that wherever he went God asked him to travel and to preach.	p. 573						
Shaiḥ Muzdaqāni asked him to travel and to preach	pp. 560-61			f. 55b			
The Prophet appeared to him in a dream and asked to go to Kashmir and preach Islam there			f. 420a				
Travelled in the company of Saiyid Ashraf Jahāngir Simnāni							<i>Akhbār</i> - <i>l-Akhyār</i> p. 166
Sent two of his cousins to Kashmir, prior to his arrival to survey the religious and political atmosphere	f. 1a			f. 69b			<i>T.Az.</i> , p. 35; <i>G.A.</i> , f. 116a-b.

	K.M.	T.Ks.	A.Ab.	Mastūrāl	F.K.	T.H. III	T.K.	Other Sources
Reached Kashmir in 783/1381-82								B.S., f. 23a; T.Km., f. 91a; N.A., f. 35a.
Reached Kashmir in 786/1384-85		f. 2a						
Reached in 785/1383-84, according to the chronogram quoted by the chronicler Saiyid 'Alī		f. 3a						
Reached in 741/ 1340-41								
Visited Kashmir only once during the reign of Sultān Qutb'ud-Dīn								Tarikh-i- Rashādī, pp. 432-3; A.A., II, p. 185; B.S., f. 23a; T.Km., f. 91a; N.A., f. 35a T.Az., p. 36.

<i>K.M.</i>	<i>T.Ks.</i>	<i>A.Ab.</i>	<i>Masūrat</i>	<i>F.K.</i>	<i>T.H.</i> <i>III</i>	<i>T.K.</i>	<i>Other</i> <i>Sources</i>
Visited Kashmir three times in 774/1372-73, 781/1379-80, and 785/1383-84.					pp. 14- 15	pp. 12- 14	
Was accompanied by 700 Saiyids				f. 58b	p. 15	p. 12	<i>N.A.</i> f. 35a; <i>T.Az.</i> p. 36; <i>G.A.</i> , f. 119a.
Converted a large number of Non-Muslims to Islam in Kashmir	ff. 2b- 3a		f. 420a	f. 59a	p. 16	p. 14	<i>N.A.</i> , f. 35a.
Sultān Quṭbu'd-Dīn gave up Hindu dress on his advice.		f. 19b					<i>B.S.</i> , f. 25a; <i>T.Kh.</i> , f. 109b; <i>T.Km.</i> , f. 93a; <i>T.Az.</i> , p. 36.
Left Kashmir because of conflict with Sultān Quṭbu'd- Dīn							<i>B.S.</i> , f. 25a; <i>T.Kh.</i> , ff. 109b-110a; <i>T.Km.</i> , f. 93a.

K.M.	T.Ks.	A.Ab.	Mastūrāt	F.K.	T.H. III	T.K.	Other Sources
Stayed at Kunār on the request of its chief.	p. 580	f. 19b					B.S., f. 25a; T.Az., p. 37.
Died at Kunār on 6 Zu'l-Hijja, 786/19 January, 1385	p. 580	f. 19b			p. 17.	p. 15	B.S., f. 25a; T.Az., f. 37.
Died at Kābul in 789/1384-85							<i>Haft-Iqlām</i> , II. p. 539.
Buried at Khatlān on 25 Jumādu'l-Auwal, 787/14 July, 1385	p. 580						
On Jumādu'l-Auwal, 787/16 June, 1385							T.Az., p. 37.
Author of 170 works				f. 57b	p. 12		

Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn Rishi

	<i>R.N.</i>	<i>A.Ab.</i>	<i>T.Az.</i>	<i>F.K.</i>	<i>R.Nm.</i>	<i>T.H. III</i>	<i>T.K.</i>	<i>Other Sources</i>
Was born in 779/1378	f. 129a	p. 64	f. 86b	f. 12a	p. 92			
Was born in 757/1356-57		f. 52b			p. 125			
His name mentioned as Nand	f. 131b	f. 56b	f. 86b	f. 19b	p. 95			
Father's name given as Sālār Ganā'i	f. 129a		ff. 84b, 89b	f. 10b	p. 117	p. 91		
Belonging to the tribe of "Watchers"	f. 129a		f. 84b		p. 92			
From the descendants of the rulers of Kishtwār				f. 10b	p. 117			
Lallā asks to drink milk				f. 12b	p. 117	p. 92		
Becomes a thief	f. 136a	ff. 55b- 56a	f. 84b	f. 12b	p. 117	p. 92		

	<i>R.N.</i>	<i>A.Ab.</i>	<i>T.Az.</i>	<i>F.K.</i>	<i>R.Nm.</i>	<i>T.H. III</i>	<i>T.K.</i>	<i>Other Sources</i>
Goes to a house to steal and brings out pestle etc.	ff. 136a-137a	ff. 58b-59a		ff. 85b-86a	ff. 13a-14a	pp. 117-8	p. 92-3	
Goes to a house to steal but flings his own blanket on the inmates there	f. 137 a-b	f. 59a-b		f. 86a	ff. 14b-15a	p. 118	p. 93	*
Goes to a weaver and conversation with him	ff. 138a-139a	ff. 60a-b		ff. 86a-b	ff. 15b-16b	p. 118	p. 94	
The Prophet comes in a dream	ff. 132b-133a				f. 19b		p. 95	
Lallā cries at him		f. 56a		f. 84b				
Stays in a cave at Kaimuh	ff. 132a-133a	f. 62a		f. 86a	f. 20b	pp. 118-9	p. 94	
Receives guidance from Saiyid Husain			p. 64	ff. 69b, 82a				
Conversation with Muḥammad Hamadānī	f. 215 a-b	f. 236 a-b		f. 90a		pp. 123-4	p. 96	<i>T.K.</i> , ff. 33b-34a.

	<i>R.N.</i>	<i>A.Ab.</i>	<i>T.Az.</i>	<i>F.K.</i>	<i>R.Nm.</i>	<i>T.H. III</i>	<i>T.K.</i>	<i>Other Sources</i>
Becomes his disciple				f. 90a-b		p. 124	p. 96	
Preceptor not known called "Uwaisi"	f. 131b	f. 52a						<i>Khāki, Rishz-Nāmā</i> , f. 43a; <i>D.S.</i> , p. 213.
Mother demands her rights	ff. 140b-141a	f. 61a-b		f. 86	ff. 28b-29a	p. 120	p. 94	
Gives up eating vegetables	f. 150b	f. 63b	p. 63	f. 87a	f. 61a	p. 121		
Gives up drinking milk	ff. 152b-153a	f. 64b			f. 62a-b	p. 122		
Drinks water only	f. 153a	ff. 64b-65a			ff. 65b-63a	p. 123		
Swallowed a burnt stick in his mouth instead of a fish	f. 150b					p. 121	p. 97	
Girl visits him to seduce	ff. 158a, b 159a.				f. 32b	p. 121		

	<i>R.N.</i>	<i>A.Ab.</i>	<i>T.Az.</i>	<i>F.K.</i>	<i>R.Nm.</i>	<i>T.H. III</i>	<i>T.K.</i>	<i>Other Sources</i>
Discussion with Maulânâ Mânak	ff. 172b, 173a-b							
Discussion with Bâmu'd-Dîn	ff. 254a, f. 70a, 255a, b	pp. 64 b	-5	f. 92a, b	ff. 38a- b; 39a-b	pp. 126 -7	pp. 100 -1	<i>T.Ks.</i> , 32a- b; 37b.
Discussion with Zainu'd-Dîn	ff. 283a, f. 37a, b			f. 95a	ff. 49b, 50a.	pp. 128-9	pp. 101-2	<i>T.Ks.</i> , 34b, 35a.
Discussion with Lafîfu'd-Dîn	f. 294a	f. 78a	p. 65	f. 98b	ff. 59 a-b	pp. 132-3	p. 104	<i>T.Ks.</i> , f. 39a
Discussion with Naşru'd-Dîn	ff. 296a, f. 79b, b	pp. 80a. 65-6		f. 100b	ff. 30a, b	p. 133	pp. 104-5	<i>T.Ks.</i> , f. 40a, b.
Died on 26 Ramazân 842/12 March, 1439	f. 155b		p. 64				p. 99	
Died in 808/1405-06		f. 68b						
Zainu'l-'Ābidîn attended his funeral				f. 71a			p. 99	
Buried at Chrâr	f. 155b	f. 68b	p. 64				p. 99	

Bāmū'd-Dīn Rishī

<i>T.Ks.</i>	<i>R.N.</i>	<i>A.Ab.</i>	<i>K.S.</i>	<i>T.Az.</i>	<i>F.K.</i>	<i>T.H. III</i>	<i>T.K.</i>
					f. 92b	p. 126	p. 100
					f. 92b	p. 126	p. 100
					f. 92b- 93a	p. 127	p. 101

Before becoming a Rishī was a famous Brahman, named Bhum Sidh, living at Bamuzū.

Used to take bath at five different places in Kashmīr daily

Shaiikh Nūru'd-Dīn visited him with a bloody cow skin on his shoulders, and asked to accept Islam as the idols to which he was worshipping were lumps of stones. The Shaiikh addressed the idols which at once gave tongue and supported the Shaiikh's claim.

<i>T.Ks.</i>	<i>R.N.</i>	<i>A.Ab.</i>	<i>K.S.</i>	<i>T.Az.</i>	<i>F.K.</i>	<i>T.H. III</i>	<i>T.K.</i>
				pp. 64-5			
Bhum Sidh in order to impress the Shaikh flew up in the sky.	f. 32a-b						
The Shaikh sent his shoes after him. Convinced of the Shaikh's superiority Bhum Sidh accepted Islam.							
The Shaikh named him Bāmud-Dīn		f. 262a				p. 127	p. 101
After becoming a Rishī lived for twelve years	p. 32a	ff. 71b-72a		p. 65	f. 93b	p. 128	p. 102
Kept no servant and maintained no kitchen		f. 72a		p. 65		p. 128	p. 102
Used to eat crushed stone for food	f. 38a	f. 280 a-b			f. 93b	p. 128	p. 102
Used to drink water only				p. 65			
Sultān 'Alī Shāh visited him					f. 93b	p. 128	
The contemporary Sultān visited him	f. 38b	f. 280 a-b					

<i>T.Ks.</i>	<i>R.N.</i>	<i>A.Ab.</i>	<i>K.S.</i>	<i>T.Az.</i>	<i>F.K.</i>	<i>T.H. III</i>	<i>T.K.</i>
Asked the Sulṭān not to visit him again		f. 282b f. 72b			f. 93b	p. 128	
Zainu'd-Dīn Rishī came from Tibet miraculously to attend his funeral		ff. 282b-283a		p. 65	f. 93b	p. 128	p. 102
Buried at Bamuzū		f. 283a		p. 65	f. 93b	p. 128	p. 102

Zainu'd-Dīn Rishi

	<i>T.Ks.</i>	<i>R.N.</i>	<i>A.Ab.</i>	<i>R.Nm.</i>	<i>T.Az.</i>	<i>F.K.</i>	<i>T.H. III</i>	<i>T.K.</i>	<i>Other Sources</i>
Original name Ziya Singh			f. 73b		p. 64	f. 94b		p. 102	
Original name Zaina Singh		f. 49b			p. 64		p. 128		
Hailed from Kishtwār			f. 73b	f. 49b			p. 128		
Father descendant of the rulers of that country			f. 73b	f. 49b			p. 128		
Was killed by his enemies when Zainu'd-Dīn was quite young	f. 34b	f. 283b	f. 73b	f. 49b		f. 94b	p. 128	p. 102	
Fell seriously ill, Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn appeared miraculously at his sick bed and told his mother that if they both would later come to Kashmir and accept Islam he would pray for his recovery	ff. 34b-35a	f. 284a	f. 73b	f. 49b		ff. 94b-95a	pp. 128-9	p. 102	

<i>T.Ks.</i>	<i>R.N.</i>	<i>A.Ab.</i>	<i>R.Nm.</i>	<i>T.Az.</i>	<i>F.K.</i>	<i>T.H. III</i>	<i>T.K.</i>	<i>Other Sources</i>
Came to Kashmir because of Divine grace and accepted Islam at the hands of Nūru'd-Dīn				p. 64				
Was searching for a guide, met Nūru'd-Dīn and became his disciple								<i>K.S.</i> , f. 42a
Settled at 'Aish-Maqām		f. 284b	f. 74a		f. 95a	p. 129	p. 102	
Settled at the village Shaiva	f. 35b							
Found snakes in the cave he wanted to live in.		ff. 238b	f. 74a-					
Ordered them out		-289b	b		ff. 94b-	p. 129	pp. 102-3	
Decided to live on raw nuts		f. 288a	f. 75a		f. 95b	p. 130	p. 103	
		-b						
Caused a spring at the village Āina		f. 288a	ff. 74b-	ff. 49b-	f. 95a	pp. 129-30	p. 104	
		75a	75a	50a				

	<i>T.Ks.</i>	<i>R.N.</i>	<i>A.Ab.</i>	<i>R.Nm.</i>	<i>T.Az.</i>	<i>F.K.</i>	<i>T.H. III</i>	<i>T.K.</i>	<i>Other Sources</i>
Caused Shāhkul canal to dry		ff. 289b-290a		f. 86a-b		f. 95b	pp. 130-1		
Was exiled to Tibet by Zainu'l-'Abidin	ff. 19b, 35b-36a	ff. 291a-b	f. 76a-b	f. 107 a-b		f. 95b	p. 131		
On his arrival there, the son of the Tibetan ruler died	f. 36a		f. 76b			f. 96a	p. 131		
The son of newly converted Muslim died		f. 291b							
The son of one of the Queen's attendants died				f. 108b					
Zainu'd-Din was accused for this misfortune and was threatened to be put to death. Prayed to God and the dead got life.	f. 36a	ff. 291b-292a	f. 76b	f. 108b		f. 96a	p. 131		
Zainu'l-'Ābidin got a boil on his foot	ff. 19b, 36b	f. 292a	f. 77a-b	f. 109a		f. 96a	p. 131		

<i>T.K.s.</i>	<i>R.N.</i>	<i>A.Ab.</i>	<i>R.Nm.</i>	<i>T.Az.</i>	<i>F.K.</i>	<i>T.H. III</i>	<i>T.K.</i>	<i>Other Sources</i>
Approached Hāji Adham, who told that the boil was the result of Zainu'd-Dīn's displeasure	f. 109a							
Approached to Latīfu'd-Dīn Rishī...					f. 96a			
The Sulzān realised himself the mistake of exiling Zainu'd-Dīn	f. 292a	f. 77b					p. 131	
The Sulzān sent one of his sons to Zainu'd-Dīn asking him to return to Kashmir	ff. 19b, 36b		f. 109a		f. 96b		p. 131	
The moment Zainu'd-Dīn reached Kashmir, the Sulzān recovered and went to receive him personally.	f. 20b	f. 292a	f. 77b					pp. 131-2
Introduced <i>Rishī-jā</i> in Kashmir			f. 292b					

<i>T.Ks.</i>	<i>R.N.</i>	<i>A.Ab.</i>	<i>R.Nm.</i>	<i>T.Az.</i>	<i>F.K.</i>	<i>T.H. III</i>	<i>T.K.</i>	<i>Other Sources</i>
<p>Disappeared from the cave. A disciple saw him in a dream and was told to make a grave in his name where his <i>tābūt</i> was found</p>								
					f. 96b		p. 104	

	<i>T.Ks.</i>	<i>R.N.</i>	<i>A.Ab.</i>	<i>K.S.</i>	<i>T.Az.</i>	<i>F.K.</i>	<i>T.H. III</i>	<i>T.K.</i>
Original Hindu name	f. 39a				p. 65			
Ladi Raina								
Idi Raina			f. 78a			f. 98b		
Awat Raina							p. 132	p. 104
Chief of Marv Adavin	f. 39a	f. 294a	f. 78a	f. 38b		f. 98b	p. 132	p. 104
Son of a chief					p. 65			
Called one day on the Shaikh, who asked to accept Islam.								
Accepted the Shaikh's advice								
Was overpowered by mystical attraction and became the Shaikh's disciple		f. 294a	f. 78a		p. 65	f. 98b	pp. 132-3	p. 104
Conversation with Shaikh regarding worldly things				f. 38b				
			f. 78b					

	<i>T.Ks.</i>	<i>R.N.</i>	<i>A.Ab.</i>	<i>K.S.</i>	<i>T.Az.</i>	<i>F.K.</i>	<i>T.H. III</i>	<i>T.K.</i>
Settled at Uttar	f. 39b	f. 294b	f. 78b			f. 98b	p. 133	p. 104
Gave up eating fresh vegetables		ff. 294b -295a	ff. 79a 92b-93a			ff. 98b- 99a	pp. 133, 164	
Moved to Poskar from Uttar	f. 39b	f. 295a	f. 79a	f. 39a		f. 99a	p. 133	
Died at Poskar	f. 40a	f. 295a	f. 79a	f. 39a		f. 99a	p. 133	

[illegible]

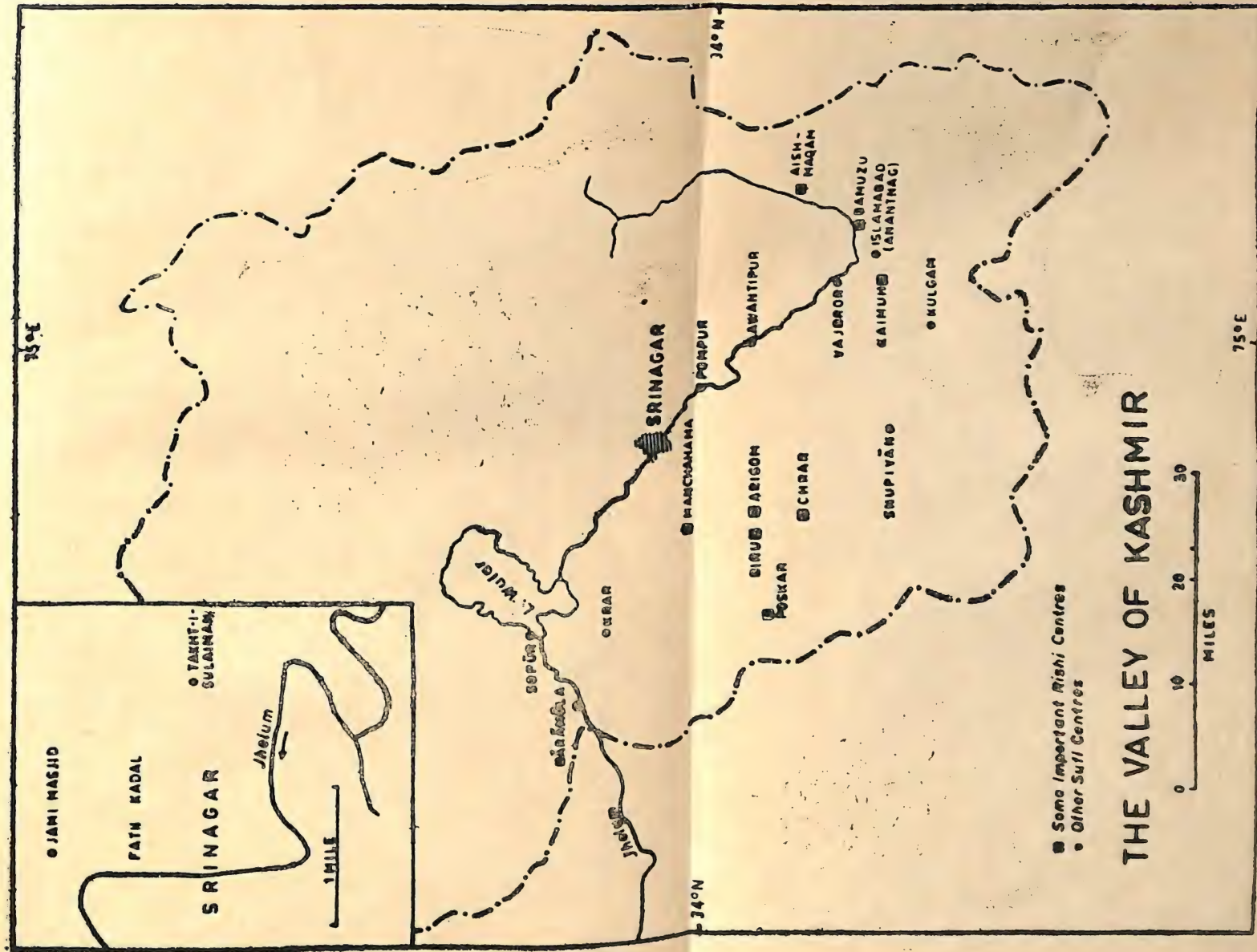
	T.Ks.	R.N.	A.Ab.	K.S.	T.Az.	F.K.	T.H. III	T.K.
One day the Shaikh heard him breaking a walnut and remarked that he thought he was breaking his <i>nafs</i>						p. 135	p. 105	
After completing the seclusion presented all the four walnuts to the Shaikh						p. 135		
After hearing the Shaikh's remarks all four walnuts outside the window							p. 105	
Appointed Malik Jogi Raina as his <i>khalifa</i> at Chrār before his death, on the advice of the Shaikh who appeared to him in a dream			f. 81a			f. 101a	p. 133	p. 105
Died in 855/1451							p. 135	p. 105
Buried at Chrār			f. 81a			f. 101a	p. 135	p. 105

Qiyāmu' d-Dīn Rishī

	R.N.	A.Ab.	T.Az	F.K.	T.H. III	T.K.
Right from the beginning associated himself with the divines		f. 82a		f. 92b	p. 134	
Met the Shaikh and became his disciple	f. 182	f. 82a	p. 66	f. 92b	p. 136	p. 106
Settled at Manzgām	f. 182a	f. 82a	p. 66	f. 92b	p. 136	p. 106
Reduced himself to skin and bone	f. 183a	f. 82a	p. 66	f. 92b	p. 136	p. 106
Died at Manzgām	f. 183a	f. 82a	p. 66	f. 92b	p. 136	p. 106



Appendix E



APPENDIX F

Classified List of Primary Sources

The sources are arranged in chronological order and are divided into the following sections :

1. Biographies of the Kashmiri Sūfis
2. Works on Sūfi doctrines and practices by Kashmiri authors
3. Historical works by Kashmiri authors.

1. BIOGRAPHIES

Khulāṣatu'l-Manāqib, by Nūru'd-Dīn Ja'far Badakhshī, a prominent disciple of Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī. It was commenced at the end of Ṣafar, 787/April, 1385, in *Khatlān*. The work gives a large number of anecdotes which throw light on the biography of Saiyid 'Alī. Some of these the author claims to have heard himself from his preceptor, while others seems to have been related to him by other disciples of the Saiyid. Naturally they do not contain an account of the early activities of Saiyid 'Alī and the description of the events of his later life is rambling in character. However, they throw some light on his teachings. The work surprisingly makes no reference to any of the activities of Saiyid 'Alī in Kashmīr.

It also quotes the verses of Saiyid 'Alī and other Persian poets such as S'adī and 'Attār. It also includes anecdotes of some other important saints such as Najmu'd-Dīn Kubrā and 'Alāu'd-Daula Simnānī. The later biographers of Saiyid 'Alī have drawn heavily upon this.

Manuscript copies of the work are available in the Oriental Research Department, Srinagar (No. 658), and Rīzā Library Rāmpur (943); the latter manuscript comprises 160 pages, 21 lines per page [Storey, pp. 946-7].

Tuḥfatu'l-Aḥbāb : A biographical account of Mīr Shamsu'dīn 'Irāqī, who introduced the Shī'ī sect into Kashmīr. The author, who does not disclose his name, and his father, were the disciples of the Mīr. The author was introduced to the Mīr by his father at the age of five (p. 192), and the account is based on the knowledge of the author and that of his father.

The work gives several anecdotes relating to the Mīr's encounters with yogīs and highly exaggerates his success in demolishing temples and erecting mosques on their sites; It

also refers to the charities and magnanimous deeds of the Mīr. It claim that Shaikh Ismā'il, the celebrated Kubravī saint of Kashmir, had entered the discipleship of the Mīr (pp. 4, 6), is supported by no other evidence.

As the work refers to the events of Faṭḥ Shāh's second reign which commenced in 1505, it is certain that it was written in the sixteenth century and Muḥibbu'l Ḥasan's¹ statement that it was composed in the middle of the fifteenth century is baseless.

Dastūru's Sālikin, also known as *Shah-i-Wirdu'l-Murīdīn*, is a biography of Shaikh Ḥamza Makhdūm, by Bābā Dāwud Khākī; completed in 962/1554-5. The work has already been discussed in chapter II. It was published at Srinagar in Rama-zān 1356/November, 1937, and its translation into Kashmīrī appeared under the title *Zikru'l-Wāṣṣīn*, Srinagar 1365/1946.

Rishi Nāmā, is another work by Bābā Dāwud Khākī, completed in 988/1580-81 (chronogram). Its account of the Rishīs is very brief and it largely deals with the miracles of Bābā Dāwud's preceptor, Shaikh Ḥamza and his father-in-law, Mīrak Mīr, a Qādirī saint of Kashmir. The only manuscript copy (dated 1146/1733-34) of this work, to our knowledge, is in the Oriental Research Department, Srinagar, No. 954. It comprises 135 folios and there are 16 lines to a page.

Chillatu'l-Ārifīn, by Khwaja Ishāq Qārī', a disciple of Shaikh Ḥamza; completed in 982/1574-75. It is divided into seven chapters.

- 1 Early life and initiation of Shaikh Ḥamza (ff. 2a-13b).
- 2-5 Ṣūfī doctrines such as *khilwat*, control of the carnal desires, and love of God (ff. 14a-31b) based upon the works of Shaikh Shihābu'd-Dīn Suhrawardī and Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī.
- 6-7 Life and activities of Shaikh Ḥamza, after his initiation into Sūfism (ff. 32a-126b).

Though overlaid with descriptions of the supernatural feats of the Shaikh, the work records some of his discourses

1. *Sultāns*, p. 11.

which are not available elsewhere. The manuscript copy in the Oriental Research Department, Srinagar (No. 500), comprises 126 folios, 20 lines to a page.

Hidāyatul-Mukhlīṣin : Another biography of Shaikh Ḥamza, by Ḥaidar Tulmūlī; completed in 997/1588-89. Although the author claims to have sought to fill in the lacunae left by other biographers of the Shaikh, he generally follows *Dastūru's Salikīn* and *Chillatu'l-Ārifīn*, and makes no original contribution. The manuscript (No. 593), in the Oriental Research Department, Srinagar, comprises 119 folios, 17 lines to a page.

Rishī-Nāmā, by Bābā Naṣīb, also called "Abū'l-Fuqara" (d. 1047/1637); completed in 1041/1631. It begins with a long preliminary discourse on the virtues of the Prophet and the first four Caliphs; and then goes on to give a detailed account of the Rishīs, especially of Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn. Although full of legends and miracles, it throws important light on the growth and development of the Rishī order. In the end it makes a brief reference to Mīrzā Ḥaidar's rule and his anti-Shī'ī activities.

Manuscript copies of this work are available in the Oriental Research Department, Srinagar (No. 25, defective at the beginning), and India Office (Delhi Persia, 731). The latter comprises 414 folios; 15 lines to a page [Storey, pp. 985-86].

† *Asrāru'l-Abrār* : A work on the biographies of the saints of all the important Ṣūfī orders of Kashmīr; completed in 1063/1652-53. The account of the Rishīs is generally based on the *Rishī-Nāmā* of Bābā Naṣīb. It makes the brief but valuable comment that Rishī order existed in Kashmīr before the introduction of Islam. Some sayings of Shaikh Nuru'd-Dīn such as his remark on the difference between an 'ālim and 'arīf and his discourses on the controlling of *nafs* are given in this work in a vivid style.

The work is not chronologically arranged as follows.

1. Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī and some of his disciples.
2. Mīr Muḥammad and some of his disciples.
3. Saiyid Sharafu'd-Dīn Bulbul Shāh.
4. Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn and his followers.
5. Other Saints—the rest of the disciples of Saiyid 'Alī and Mīr Muḥammad and other Ṣūfīs.

The manuscript copy in the Oriental Research Department, Srinagar (No. 40), comprises 266 folios, 13 line to a page.

Khawāriqū's-Sālikīn, also known as *Tārīkh-i-Hādī*, by Mullā Aḥmad bin Ṣabūr; completed in 1109/1697-98. It contains a biographical account of some prominent Ṣūfīs of Kashmir. The work is divided into three main parts.

1. Saiyids.
2. Rishīs.
3. *Mashā'ikh-i-Kashmīr*.

The manuscript copy in the Oriental Research Department Srinagar (No. n.a.), comprises 196 folios (folio 4 missing), and there are 17 lines to a page.

Mastūrāt, by on Ḥaidar,¹ is an abridgement of the *Khulāṣatu'l-Manāqib* of Badakhshī; completed in 1136/1723-24. The author, however, makes several additions in his abridgement, such as the statement that Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī is reported to have said that the Prophet ordered him to go to Kashmir in order to convert the people there to Islam.

Ethe (1850) incorrectly says that the work was composed by one of the disciples of the Saiyid, since the chronogram *nūr-i-'aql raft* yields 1136/1723-24, whereas the Saiyid died in 786/1385. The manuscript in the India Office (Ethe, 1850) comprises 96 folios, 11 lines to a page.

Futūḥāt-i-Kubraviya: A biographical account of 161 Irānian and Kashmīrī Kubraviya saints, including Rishīs, by 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Nūrī; completed in 1162/1748-49. The author overestimates the influence of the Kubraviya saints in Kashmir and includes the Rishīs in that order.

1. Ethe (1850), does not mention the author's name, which appears in a verse at f. 437a.

Some statements in the work are self-contradictory and the dates are not always reliable. However its account of the growth and development of the Kubraviya and Rishī orders in Kashmīr is very important. The manuscript in the Oriental Research Department, Srīnagar (No. 50) comprises 164 folios, 23 lines per page.

Rishī-Nāmā : A work on the biographies of the Rishīs, different from the two previously described. Its author, Bahāu'd-Dīn Mattū (d. 1248/1832) composed it in verse. The account of the Rishīs is mainly based on the *Rishī-Nāmā* of Naṣīb. It adds some anecdotes regarding Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn's life, not described elsewhere. The biographies of some other Kashmīrī saints are also given in the work.

Manuscript copies of the work are available in the Oriental Research Department, Srīnagar (No. n.a.), and India Office (No. 3684). The later comprises 123 folios, 19 lines to a page.

Futūḥāt-i-Qādirī : A biography of all important Irānīan and Kashmīrī Qādirī saints by Muḥammad Ḥusain Qādirī; completed in 1282/1867. It also gives an account of important non-Qādirī saints of Kashmīr. However, it provides important information on the growth and popularity of the Qādirī order in Kashmīr from the seventeenth century onwards. Manuscript in the Oriental Research Department, Srīnagar (No. 30), comprises 263 folios, 22 lines to a page.

Tārīkh-i-Hasan, by Pīr Ḥasan Khuīhāmī (d. 1898). This is a general political history of Kashmīr, however, its third, volume, entitled *Auliya'-i-Kashmīr*, deals with the biographies of almost all the Kashmīrī Sūfīs. The author claims to have used a vast amount of material from the earlier sources. The volume is divided into the following five chapters : Saiyids, Rishīs, Mashā'ikh-i-Kashmīr, 'Ulamā and Majzūbs. It was translated into Urdu by M. Ibrāhīm, Srīnagar, 1960.

Tārīkh-i-Kabīr, also called *Tuḥā'ifu'l-Abrār*, by Ḥājī Muḥīu'd-Dīn Miskīn; completed in 1321/1903-4. The author claims to have consulted all the earlier hagiological and political works of Kashmīr, but it provides no additional information to that contained in *Tārīkh-i-Hasan*. It is divided into five chapters with the same headings as the later work. Edition; Amritsar, Ziqa'd, 1322/January, 1905.

2. WORKS ON SŪFĪ DOCTRINES AND PRACTICES BY KASHMĪRĪ AUTHORS

The works of Saiyid 'Alī, listed below, bear no date and are arranged alphabetically. Reference to manuscript copies in different libraries has been made in Appendix A.

Maqāmatu'l-Ṣūfiya, gives the forty 'stations' of the contemplative life. It is identical with the *Risāla-i-Dah Qā'ida* (see below). The ten principles of the latter are expanded into forty, without explaining them fully. Ms. British Museum, Add. 16840. It comprises 3 folios, 19 lines to a page.

Risāla-i-Dah Qā'ida : A treatise devoted to the contemplative life, explaining the ten 'stations' which a devotee has to complete in order to reach his goal. Ms. British Museum, Add. 16832, consisting of 5 folios, 19 lines to a page.

Risāla-i-Darweshīya, explains the necessity of a spiritual guide for the seeker and the rules of conduct for the latter. Ms. British Museum, Add. 16840, 6 folios, 19 lines to a page.

Risāla-i-Futūḥīya, explains the Sūfī terms *akhī* and *futūwāt*. Ms. British Museum, Add. 16840, 9 folios, 18 lines to a page.

Risāla-i-I'tiqādiya, is devoted to the basic five principles of Islam. Ms. British Museum, Add. 16840, 5 folios, 19 lines to a page.

Risāla-i-Kashfu'l-Ḥaqā'iq, gives an explanation of the mystic journey. Ms. British Museum, Add. 16840, 5 folios, 19 lines to a page.

Risāla-i-Muktūbāt, is a collection of eight letters written by Saiyid 'Alī to various people. In these letters the Saiyid advocates the addressees to follow the path of justice and to observe the religious devotions such as prayer and fasting. Ms. British Museum, Add. 16840, 9 folios, 18 lines to a page.

Risāla-i-Mashāribu'l-Azwaq, is concerned with the causes which create love in man and deals with various categories of 'lovers of God'. Ms. British Museum, Add. 16840, 9 folios, 19 lines to a page.

Risāla-i-Sharḥ-i-Mushkilḥal, explains briefly *ma'rifa*, its various stages and different categories of people who strive after it. Ms. British Museum, Add. 16840, on and a half folios, 19 lines to a page.

Risāla-i-Zikriya, discusses the importance of and advantages of the *zikr-i-khafī*, and defines in detail the two Ṣūfī categories : *maqtaṣidān* and *sābiqān-i-Ṣafūf-wilāyat*. Ms. British Museum, Add. 16840, 8 folios, 19 lines to a page.

Zakhīratu'l-Mulūk, is the largest and the best known work written by the Saiyid. It is divided into the following ten chapters :

1. Articles of faith, comprising a discussion on the nature of the Godhead; Islam and *imān*.
2. The principles of devotion, such as prayers, fasting, alms and the pilgrimage.
3. Virtue and morality.
4. Rights of parents, wives, husbands, children and friends.
5. Rules of government, theory of kingship and relations with non-Muslims.
6. The spiritual kingdom.
7. The adherence to lawful conduct and abstinence from the unlawful.
8. Gratitude and contentment.
9. The virtues of patience.
10. Condemnation of conceit and anger; and praise of humility and forgiveness.

Edition: Amritsar, 1321/1903-4.

One more treatise by Saiyid 'Alī, which has been utilized in the present study, does not carry any title and is referred to as *Ms. C*. It explains the two Ṣūfī groups—*maslūbu'l-'aql* and *zū'aql*, and follows *Ghazālī* in discussing whether the '*ulamā* and the Ṣūfīs are legally entitled to use the wealth of the ruling

classes. Ms. British Museum, Add. 16840, four and a half folios, 19 lines to a page.

Nūr-Nāmā : A collection of the sayings in Kashmīrī poetry of Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn Rishī. The editor, M. Amīn Kāmil, claims to have made the collection from various biographical works of the Shaikh; however, he does not give clear reference to his sources. The question of the authenticity of these sayings has been discussed earlier.¹ The present text consists of 257 short poems, mostly of four lines. Edition; Srīnagar, 1966.

Risāla-i-Zikriya, by Shaikh Ya'qūb Ṣarfī. The importance of *zikr* is explained and light is thrown on the author's attitude towards the nature of the Godhead. The manuscript copies of the work are in Rīzā Library Rāmpur, No (n.a.) and the Oriental Research Department, Srīnagar, No. 37. The work comprises 36 folios, 15 lines to a page.

Diwān-i-Ṣarfī : A collection of about seven hundred ghazals and forty *rubā'iyāt* of Shaikh Ya'qūb Ṣarfī. The ghazals are arranged alphabetically. Edited by Mīr Ḥabību'llāh Kāmlī, Srīnagar; (n.d.).

1. See *supra*, ch. VI.

3. HISTORICAL WORKS BY KASHMĪRĪ AUTHORS

Sanskrit

The Rājatarāṅgiṇī of Kalhaṇa, is the most important available historical document of ancient Kashmīr; completed in 1148-49. It was translated into Persian under the orders of Akbar, by Mullā Shāh Muḥammad and rewritten in an easy style, in 999/1590 by 'Abdu'l-Qādir Badāūnī. Edition; Eng. Tr., M.A. Stein, 2 vols, reprint, Delhi, 1961.

The Rājatarāṅgiṇī of Jonarāja : Two hundred years after Kalhaṇa's death, Jonarāja (d. 1459) continued the narrative down to his own time. This is the earliest extant and most valuable source for the history of Kashmīr from 1150 to 1459. It throws important light on the circumstances which led to the establishment of the Sultanate in the Valley; and the tension which prevailed during Sultān Sikandar's reign. Being a staunch Brahman himself, Jonarāja greatly resents the conversion of the Hindus to Islam and therefore his statements should be viewed with caution. Edition; Hoshiarpur, 1967; Eng. Tr., J.C. Dutt (*Kings of Kashmīra*), Calcutta, 1898.

The Rājatarāṅgiṇī of Shrivara or Jainarājatarāṅgiṇī, by Shrivara, the pupil of Jonarāja, gives a detailed account of the history of Kashmīr from 1459 to 1486. Like Jonarāja, Shrivara greatly exalts the virtues of Zainu'l-'Ābidīn and is very critical of the Baihaqī Saiyids. Eng. Tr., J. C. Dutt, op. cit.

The Rājatarāṅgiṇī of Shuka, is a historical account of Kashmīr from Sultān Fath Shāh's second reign down to the Mughal conquest of the Valley, by Shuka. It gives a valuable account of the rebellions and civil wars which had by this time become the order of the day in Kashmīr. It also throws some light on the activities of Mīr Shamsu'd-Dīn 'Irāqī. Eng. Tr., J.C. Dutt op. cit.

Persian

Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr, by Saiyid 'Alī. This is the only extant Persian chronicle written during the reign of the Sultāns of Kashmir. G.M. Šūfī¹ says that the work was written between 1530-37, but the manuscript copy available to us also refers to events taking place after 1537 and, for example, lists the Chak rulers as far as Yūsuf Shāh. As the work does not refer to Saiyid Mubārak Baihaqī, who succeeded Yūsuf Shāh in 1579, it would appear to have been completed in 1579 or a little before.

The author was related to the Shāh Mīr dynasty through his mother who was the sister of Nāzuk Shāh (f. 27a-b). Both Saiyid 'Alī and his father, Saiyid Muḥammad, were probably in the service of Mīrza Ḥaidar (ff. 27a). The manuscript begins abruptly with an account of the arrival at Kashmir during the reign of Sultān Shihābud'-Dīn, of Saiyid Tāju'd-Dīn, the cousin of Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī. The conquests of Sultān Shihābu'd-Dīn and the iconoclastic activities of Sultān Sikandar are both greatly exaggerated. Most of the work is concerned with the lives of the Šūfis including Rishīs. There is no chronological order in the narrative. A detailed analysis of the work is given below.

The arrival of Saiyid Tāju'd-Dīn and the conquests of Sultān Shihābu'd-Dīn, ff. 1a-2b.

Accession of Sultān Quṭbu'd-Dīn and the arrival of Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī, ff. 2b-3a.

Activities of Saiyid 'Alī and some of his disciples, ff. 3a-8b.

Death of Sultān Quṭbu'd-Dīn, f. 9a.

Accession of Sultān Sikandar and the arrival of Mīr Muḥammad, f. 9a-b.

Iconoclastic activities of Sultān Sikandar and Mīr Muḥammad's efforts to spread the faith of Islām, ff. 10a-14b.

Death of Sultān Sikandar and the accession of 'Alī Shāh, f. 14b.

1. *Kashīr*, I, xl.

Zainu'l 'Ābidīn's reign : his activities to rehabilitate the Hindus and his patronage of arts and crafts, ff. 15a-17b.

Brief description of important saints including Shaikh Bahāu'd-Dīn Ganjbaksh, ff. 17b-19a.

Description of Zainu'd-Dīn and his exile to Tibet, ff. 19b-20a.

Accession of Haidar Shāh, f. 20a.

Accession of Ḥasan Shāh : a brief description of his reign, ff. 20a-21a.

Arrival of Shamsu'd-Dīn 'Irāqī, f. 21a.

Brief description of Shaikh Ismā'il Kubravī and his father Shaikh Faṭḥu'llāh, f. 21b.

Accession of Faṭḥ Shāh, f. 21b.

Civil war between Muḥammad Shāh and Faṭḥ Shāh and the latter's death, f. 22a.

Brief description of Shaikh Ismā'il's activities, f. 23a.

Shamsu'd-Dīn 'Irāqī's second visit to Kashmīr and his activities, ff. 23a-25a.

Mirzā Haidar's conquest of Kashmīr (second time), ff. 25b-26a.

Mirzā Haidar's anti-Shī'i activities, f. 26a-b.

Mirzā Haidar's downfall and death, f. 27a-b.

Ghāzī Shāh's accession, f. 27b.

Ḥasan Shāh's, 'Alī Shāh's and Yūsuf Shāh's reign, f. 28a.

Reference to disciples of Mīr Muḥammad Hamadānī, ff. 28b-29b.

Reference to disciples of Saiyid 'Alī, ff. 29b-30a.

Brief notices about Saiyid Ḥājī Murād, Saiyid Ḥusain Rūmī, Bābā Usmān Ganā'i, ff. 30b-31b.

Descriptions of prominent Rishī saints, ff. 32a-47a.

The manuscript copy in the Oriental Research Department, Srinagar (No. 739) comprises 47 folios, 15 lines to a page.

Bahārīstān-i-Shāhī is a history of Kashmīr from earliest times to 1023/1614-15, the year of its composition (chronogram). Nothing is known about the author, but it is popularly

believed that he was a Shī'ī. The author mentions (ff. 33a-b) that his great grandfather, Mullā Ḥasāmu'd-Dīn, had migrated from Ghaznī and was a disciple of Ḥājī Ibrāhīm Adham, a Kubravī saint of Kashmir. He was probably in the service of, or patronised by the Baihaqī Saiyids, for he devotes a large part of his work in eulogizing their characters and careers.

Apart from the Sanskrit chronicles mentioned earlier, the author claims to have consulted also the Persian works of Mullā Aḥmad and Mullā Nādirī of Zainu'l-'Ābidīn's time, of which there are now no traces. The pre-Islamic period is dismissed in a few folios. The Muslim period, especially from the time of the later Shāh Mīr rulers, is discussed in detail. Some prominent Ṣūfīs of Kashmir are also described by the author who provides the first account of the conflict which existed between Sulṭān Qutbu'd-Dīn and Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī.

The manuscript copies of the work are available in the British Museum (No. OR. 1799) and in the India Office (No. Ethé, 509) : the latter comprises 221 folios, 16 lines to a page.

Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr, by Ḥasan bin 'Alī. This is a short history of Kashmir, which is claimed to cover the period to 1616; however, apart from a casual reference to Ya'qūb Shāh's submission to Akbar, the author does not proceed beyond Sulṭān Ḥasan Shāh's reign (1472-84). He corroborates the view stated in the *Bahāristān-i-Shāhī* on the conflict between Sulṭān Qutbu'd-Dīn and Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī.

Manuscript copy in the Bodleian Library (No. 315) comprises 131 folios, 15 lines to a page.

Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr, by Haidar Malik Chādura, completed in 1620-21. The work closely follows the *Bahāristān-i-Shāhī*. Like the latter, it gives a short account of some important Muslim saints of Kashmir and throws some light on the Shī'ī-Sunnī conflict there. The manuscript copies of the work are available in the British Museum (No. OR. 1799) and in the

1. Cf. Ṣūfī, *Kashīr*, I, p. XL; Muḥibbu'l-Ḥasan, *Sulṭāns*, p. 8; *Historians of Medieval India*, p. 56.

India Office (No. Ethe, 2846). The latter copy comprises 188 folios and there are 10 lines to a page.

Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr, by a Kashmīrī Brahman, named Nārāyan Kaul 'Ājiz, is a history of Kashmīr to 1710, the year of the completion of the work. It is an abridgement of Haidar Malik's chronicle and contains no new information. The manuscript copies of the work are available at the Bodleian Library (No. 318), India Office (No. Ethe, 511) and British Museum (No. 11631). The latter comprises 125 folios, 14 lines to a page.

Nawādiru'l-Akḥbār, by Abā Rafī'u'd-Dīn Aḥmad, completed in 1136/1723-24. It provides no information which is not contained in the earlier works, such as *Bahāristān-i-Shāhi* and *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr* of Haidar Malik. The author, however, overestimates the influence of the religious factor in the civil wars which followed Sultān Ḥasan Shāh's reign. Manuscript copy in the British Museum (No. Add. 24029) comprises 131 folios, 11 lines to a page.

Tārīkh-i-A'zamī, also called *Wāqī'at-i-Kashmīr*, by Muḥammad A'zam. This was completed in 1160/1747-48. The historical account is abridged from earlier works, but it offers valuable descriptions of all the prominent Ṣūfis of Kashmīr. These descriptions are inserted, in each case, after an account of the Sultān in whose reign the individual Ṣūfis lived. Edition; 1303/1886.

Gauhar-i-Ālam. According to its preface, this is an abridgement of the above mentioned *Tārīkh-i-A'zamī*, by Muḥammad Aslam. It was completed in 1200/1785-86 and dedicated to Shāh 'Ālam II (1759-1806). Manuscript copy in the Bodleian Library (No. 320) consists of 289 folios, 11 lines to a page.

Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr, also known as *Majma'u'l-Tawārikh*, by Birbal Kachrū. This is a history of Kashmīr to 1251/1835-36. It is mainly based upon the earlier Sanskrit and Persian chronicles and is of little use for the history of the rulers before the Sikhs. Manuscript copy (No. 1973) in the Bodleian Library comprises 399 folios, 13 lines to a page.

Tārīkh-i-Ḥasan, by Pīr Ḥasan Khuihāmī (d. 1898). The first volume deals with the geography of Kashmīr, the Muslim monuments, castes, tribes and religious sects. The second volume is devoted to the political history of Kashmīr to the author's own time. The third volume has already been referred to under the section concerned with biographies. The fourth volume concentrates upon the poets of Kashmīr, mostly Persian, who flourished in the Sultanate and the Mughal period. Edition; I, Srīnagar, 1954; II, Urdu tr. M. Ibrāhīm, Srīnagar, 1957.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Very few of the works on which this thesis has been based have been published. It was with the help of the various catalogues—published and unpublished—such as Rieu's *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, Blochet's *Bibliothèque Nationale : Catalogue des Manuscrits Persans*, Ethé's *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, and Storey's *Persian Literature : A Bio-bibliographical Survey*,¹ that the manuscripts were located. Some secondary works such as *Kashir* and *Kashmīr under the Sultāns* were also of great help in locating some manuscripts. The catalogues of the manuscripts held in the Rīzā Library, Rāmpūr, the Aligarh Muslim University, and the State Library, Rāmpūr have not been published. The author personally visited these libraries, took down notes, and obtained certain microfilms from them.

Where more than one copy of any work was available a choice of the particular copy used was determined by the following factors :

1. Availability of the manuscript.
2. Where a manuscript would not be lent out, whether microfilming was possible.
3. Age and condition. When a lacuna occurred in any manuscript selected as the source of a particular text, it was supplied from another manuscript, with due weight given to the characteristics of that manuscript as a whole.

The bibliography is divided into three main parts : Primary, Secondary, and Catalogues, Dictionaries and Reference Works. The primary sources have been grouped under two headings :

- A. Manuscripts ;
- B. Printed works.

1. A detailed list of the catalogues has been given under Reference Works,

All the primary sources have been arranged alphabetically under their titles, whereas modern works have been entered under the author's name. For convenience and economy the following abbreviations have been used occurring several in the bibliography :

- B.M. British Museum.
 H.M.K. *History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, by R.K. Parmu.
 I.O.L. India Office Library.
 O.R.D. Oriental Research Department, Srinagar, Kashmir.
 R.L.R. Rizā Library Rāmpūr.

PRIMARY SOURCES

A. Manuscripts

The manuscripts used by modern scholars are noted within brackets.

Asrārū'l-Abrār, by Bābā Dāwūd Mishkāṭī ; completed in 1063/1652-53. Ms. O.R.D., No. 40 (*Sultāns* ; H.M.K., Ms. O.R.D.).

Chihil-Majlis or *Risāla-i-Iqbālīya* or *Maqālāt-i-Shaikh Ruknu'd-Din 'Alā'u'd-Daula Simnāni* : A collection of the discourses of Shaikh 'Alā'u'd-Daula Simnāni (d. 736/1336), Ms. R.L.R. No. 637 (Rizvi, *Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India*, R.L.R. and B.M. ; Mole *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, XXIX, 1961, Parliament Library Tehrān, No. 320.)

Chillatu'l-'Ārifin, by Khwāja Ishāq Qāri', completed in 982/1574-75. Ms. O.R.D., No. 500.

Futūḥāt-i-Kubraviya, by 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Nūrī, completed in 1162/1748-49. Ms. O.R.D., No. 50 (*Sultāns*, Ms. O.R.D.).

Futūḥāt-i-Qādiriya, by Muḥammad Husain Qādirī, completed in 1282/1867. Ms. O.R.D., No. 30.

Hidayatu'l-Mukhlisin, by Ḥaidar Tulmūlī, completed in 997/1588-89. Ms. O.R.D., No. 593.

- Kashfu'l-Haqā'iq*, by Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī. Ms. B.M., Add. 16840. (Teufel, *Eine Lebensbeschreibung des Scheichs 'Alī-i-Hamadani*, Ms. Berlin, IV, No. 7, 3).
- Khawāriqu's-Salikin*, by Mullā Aḥmad bin Ṣabūr, completed in 1109/1697-98. Ms. O.R.D., No. (n. a.). (*Sultāns*, Ms. O.R.D.).
- Khulāṣatu'l-Manāqib*, by Nūru'd-Dīn Ja'far Badakhshī, begun in 778/1385. Ms. R.L.R., No. 943. (*Sultāns*, Ms. Tübingen University Library, W. Germany; *H.M.K.*, Ms. O.R.D.; Teufel, Ms. Pertsch (Berlin) No. 6, Ethé, No. 1889).
- Maqālatu'l-Ṣufiyya*, by Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī, Ms. B.M., Add. 16840.
- Mastūrāt*, by one Ḥaidar. Ms. Ethé, 1850. (Molé, *Farhang-i-Īrān Zāmin*, VI, 1337 sh; Teufel, Ms. No. Ethé, 1889).
- Ms. C.*; An untitled Treatise by Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī. Ms. B.M., Add. 16840.
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129	6	more than century	more than a century
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136	13	is potently	is patently
136	16	and the Shaikh	and that Shaikh
138	18	Bāmn'd-Dīn	Bāmu'd-Dīn
138	2	have tarned	have turned
138, n. 4	3	get a rick	get a rich
138, n. 3	10	that he	that the
140	14	Nānak to	Nānak too
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		Din was	Din was
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170, n. 2	2	Kanhan is	Kachan is
172, n. 1	8	told him he	told him that he
175, n. 5	3	esternier front of	eastern frontier of
176	23	Tarighm in	Tārigām in
176	24	Ahantnāg	Anantnāg
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